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Version: Version of Record

Link(s) to article on publisher's website:

<http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21954/ou.ro.0000fcd0>

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**Adult Education and Broadcasting
in the Two Germanies**

**A Comparative Study of Adult Education and Broadcasting in
the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of
Germany.**

by

Daniel Flucker Anderson, MA (Edin) MSc (Edin)

**Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
(Educational Technology)**

THE OPEN UNIVERSITY

Date of Submission: 18.2.87
Date of Award: 18.8.87

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ABSTRACT

The Central concern of this study is to shed light on the formation and operation of adult education broadcasting systems and in particular on the relative importance of cultural foundations and more dynamic ideological determinants in those processes, by comparing their working in the capitalist Federal Republic of Germany and the Communist German Democratic Republic. The thesis it sets out to test is that despite fundamental ideological divergences since 1945, common cultural influences in these countries are enduring and significant and may be discerned in their systems of adult education broadcasting as in other aspects of society. The interest and relevance of the thesis extends beyond the particular and peculiar situation of the two Germanies because of the general importance of distinguishing and evaluating these two strands in any study of adult education processes and systems. Because the method employed must necessarily be the comparative one, the study is also a test of this problematic but potentially useful tool for the study of adult education.

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Table of Figures	i
Acknowledgements	iii
1. Ideology and Culture as Determinants of Adult Education Broadcasting	1
2. The Research Background	65
3. The Conduct of the Study	117
4. The Educational Background	132
5. Broadcasting in the Two Germanies	183
6. The Educative Content of Adult Education Broadcasting in the Two Germanies	222
7. Adult Education and Broadcasting in the DDR	244
8. Adult Education and Broadcasting in the BRD	269
9. The Two Systems Compared	329
Appendix 1 Questionnaire for the Council of Europe Survey on Adult Education and Television, 1967	382
Appendix 2 Adult Education and Broadcasting Personnel Interviewed in the Course of the Study	384
Appendix 3 Report of a Visit to the German Democratic Republic	386
Appendix 4 Examples of ARD and ZDF Adult Education Programming on Television	394
Appendix 5 Raw Data for Figures Throughout the Text Using Percentages	396
Appendix 6 Sample Print Support Materials for Broadcasts Gathered in the Course of the Study	400
Bibliography	403

LIST OF FIGURES

	<u>Page</u>
1.1 Provision of Adult and Continuing Education in Scotland	46
1.2 The System of Adult Education in the USSR	50
2.1 Relevance of Media Employed in the Delivery of Information	79
2.2 Overview of Strategic Roles for TV and Radio	88
2.3 The Educational Uses of TV Related to Types of Student Activity	101
2.4 The Process of Analysis in the Comparative Study of Adult Education and Broadcasting	109
4.1 Work-related Elements of Syllabuses in the DDR	145
4.2 The Education System in the DDR	146
4.3 Time Allocated to Different Areas of Study in DDR Poly-technical Schools since the Mid-sixties	146
4.4 The Training of Foremen	150
4.5 Growth in Supply of Qualified Workers in the DDR	151
4.6 Types of Adult Education Institution in the BRD	160
4.7 DDR and BRD Educational Systems Compared	173
4.8 Participation in Initial Education in the DDR and BRD	174
4.9 Volkshochschulen in the DDR and BRD	174
5.1 BRD Broadcasting Organisations and their Regional Bases	189
5.2 BRD TV Transmission by Broad Programme Category	194
5.3 The Radio Programme Mix in the BRD	196
5.4 DDR Radio Output	202
5.5 DDR TV Output, 1955 - 1972	203
5.6 TV Programmes by Broad Programme Category in the DDR	203
5.7 Broadcasting Ideologies Compared	214
5.8 Structural Differences Between BRD and DDR Broadcasting	215

5.9 BRD and DDR Radio Compared	217
5.10 BRD and DDR TV Compared	218
6.1 DDR and BRD Patterns in Educative Programmes	225
6.2 Subjects Dealt with in Educative Programmes on TV	227
6.3 Subjects Dealt with in Educative Programmes on Radio	228
6.4 Film and Drama on DDR TV	230
6.5 Film and Drama on BRD TV	232
7.1 Structure and Process in DDR Adult Education	266
8.1 Adult Education Programmes in the BRD in 1981 (hours)	278
8.2 Subject Analysis of ZDF/NDR Adult Education Series in 1981	279
8.3 Funkkolleg Courses and Enrolments 1968 - 83	289
8.4 The Funkkolleg Network	290
8.5 Structure and Function in Telekolleg	296
8.6 Telekolleg II Collaborating Bodies	298
8.7 Telekolleg and the South German Education System	299
8.8 Telekolleg Calendar for 1982 - 84	301
8.9 AGI and DIFF Compared	319
8.10 Structure and Process in BRD Adult Education Broadcasting	323
9.1 Institutions and Relationships of Adult Education Broadcasting in the Two Germanies	332
9.2 Adult Education Programmes in 1981	337
9.3 Comparison of Adult Education Output by Subject	340
9.4 Models of Collaboration	359

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to thank Dr Tony Bates and Dr John Lowe for their help and encouragement in supervising this thesis. Special thanks are due to Professor Kadelbach of Funkkolleg, Frau Grünert of the DDR Ministry of Education, Dr Könnicke and Herr Röpke of the Central Institute for Schools Radio and Television in Potsdam; and the many other broadcasters and educationists in both the Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic without whose help it would have been impossible to gather the resources, information and materials. Thanks are due also to Valerie Barr for help with typing some early drafts and to Sheena Grant for the final typescript; and most certainly also to my wife for the many incursions into social and domestic life which the lengthy gestation of this thesis involved.

CHAPTER ONE

IDEOLOGY AND CULTURE AS DETERMINANTS OF ADULT EDUCATION BROADCASTING

General Rationale for the Study and for the Choice of the Two Germanies

The importance of the broadcast media as universal resources for information and informal learning is today safely beyond dispute. For many, radio, television and associated audio and video taped material will constitute their principal source of information and education beyond their immediate community and workplace for most of their lives. The same media viewed as resources for adult education in the more focused sense of helping adults to acquire a progressive mastery of new skills, ideas and disciplines, would still on the other hand appear potential rather than fully realised resources to many adult educators as well as administrators and policy makers in this field. This reputation for unrealised potential has indeed driven many learners as well as teachers to cynicism and rejection except possibly as regards 'enrichment', 'background' or other optional and marginal uses.

However there have been enough successes during the last two decades - from Telescuola and Telekolleg in the '60s, to projects such as the ambitious collaborative Adult Literacy Campaign in Britain in the '70s, to convince most that these are resources worth serious consideration, whether as integrated parts of a multimedia learning system, or for more occasional use for one special purpose or another. There is accordingly a great deal of research and evaluation available, particularly of individual projects such as those mentioned above, or of more specific aspects of method or technique related to learning through the broadcast media. These projects, programmes, methods of utilisation

etc, arise however as a result of broader policies and structures in both broadcasting and adult education organisations which are less often studied. It is a belief in the importance of understanding these overall strategies concerning the production and use of adult education broadcasting - and in particular the relationship between ideology and cultural foundations as determinants - that has led to the present study.

Such an undertaking faces obvious and serious problems, first of all of a severely practical nature. Policy making and control in broadcasting are, in Western Europe if not in the East, widely dispersed between governments, professionals, various types of councils or advisory bodies, or commercial interests often providing much of the funding. Even in Eastern bloc countries, such general policies as are laid down by party committees depend on producers and presenters for their execution and there is evidence of some freedom of interpretation on occasion. The utilisation of educational broadcasting is again dependent on a variety of factors, not least the ambivalent attitudes of educators and students mentioned above. The sheer bulk of output in this area makes the monitoring process another serious problem for the independent researcher. Beyond these practical problems relating to the quantity and complexity of data required, lies a methodological one, in the lack of any clear guidelines for such an undertaking. Descriptive accounts of existing systems have often limited value. As noted in the UNESCO survey 'Open Learning' ". . . any studies that arise from this report will achieve more if their emphasis is shifted away from reporting on complete systems and on to the analysis of concepts and techniques. It is not systems which are capable of transfer so much as

assumptions and methods."¹ The belief that one significant way of carrying out such analysis is in the use of the comparative method lies behind the employment of that method in this study.

That the problems involved in its use are considerable cannot be denied. In particular, there are well-known difficulties in finding readily comparable data from the different projects, organisations or social systems being compared. However these can often be overcome satisfactorily, especially where there are cultural, linguistic or other kinds of affinity between the objects of comparison.

The situation of the two Germanies is in many respects particularly well suited to meet these requirements. With almost 2000 years of common language and history and the more recent stamp of the Prussian Empire strengthening these ties by the imposition of common patterns of government, administration and education, the German speaking peoples had achieved nationhood (albeit late amongst the nations of Western Europe) by the end of the 19th Century. Forty years after the division of Germany once again in the aftermath of the Second World War, the peoples of the two Germanies of today are still alike in many respects. For our present purpose the invaluable feature lies in their common language - one in addition of which the researcher had a sufficient working knowledge. The fact of the ideological divergence of the post-war years in their political systems is a clear advantage in highlighting different approaches to adult education and broadcasting.

The Bundesrepublik Deutschland (Federal Republic of Germany), hereafter referred to as the BRD, is a federation of 11 states or 'Länder'. As a Land is a state in the American sense rather than in that commonly used

in Western Europe, it will aid clarity to use the German word (and its plural 'Lander') in this study. The Lander have not only considerable constitutional independence but display also a considerable diversity in culture and in the type and level of their economies, which affects every facet of social activity - not least education and broadcasting. It is rarely easy therefore to make safe generalisations about them. Nevertheless the very fact of being able to study pluralism in action is valuable as a contrast to the relative monoculture of the other Germany. Each Land has total freedom, with only very general Federal guidelines, with regard to education and the resulting differences are real and deep. In the field of broadcasting, the 11 Lander are served by 9 Land-based broadcasting companies, while one television and two radio companies operate on a national basis. The BRD, in short, offers for a study such as this both the difficulties of scale and the opportunities of diversity.

In the Deutsche Demokratische Republik (German Democratic Republic) hereafter called the DDR, on the other hand, the state socialism imposed by the USSR Army of the Occupation in 1945 has provided uniform national systems of education and broadcasting. The Ministry of Education exercises strict control over all sectors of the education system, though with considerable collaboration in the key area of vocational education with the various agricultural or industrial 'enterprises'. In the field of broadcasting, two Committees of the Council of Ministers - one for radio, one for television - again exercise strict control over all aspects of policy making, finance and staffing. There are therefore two overall differences between the two broadcasting systems being compared. Besides the obvious fact of overt political control in the DDR as against a 'checks and balances' system in the BRD, a significant

structural contrast exists in the total separation of radio and television in the DDR, as compared with the general practice of integrated models in most of the BRD broadcasting organisations. In view of the importance of an integrated multimedia approach to the use of broadcast resources in adult education this could again be a most significant feature for a comparative study.

During the period in which this study took place, new technological applications were appearing which may eventually change the nature of broadcasting as an educational resource. The full potential of the costly technologies of cable and satellite are no clearer in Germany than elsewhere. Teletext is still in its infancy there as in most other countries. The same is true of broadcast applications of computer-assisted learning. Even the more widespread use of video, whether for 'time-shifting', as an alternative delivery system for educational programmes, or with a camera, to become another classroom instructional tool, is still far from universal in its impact. Nevertheless the very rumours of the coming of these technologies have made the past few years an uneasy period in which to be attempting such a general survey of the impact and potential of educational broadcasting. In another respect, it can however be argued that there is particular value in trying to summarise the lessons of one era before moving into another one. This is particularly so when the new technologies involved are so costly. Some of the most fundamental questions about the place of broadcasting and broadcast-related resources in adult learning and adult education will be likely to remain the same whether the sound or image is delivered via cable or satellite, or with a pack of other learning materials by the postman, or via more conventional broadcasting systems. If there are limitations imposed on

this study then, by its timing, there are also advantages in the opportunity it presents to survey pedagogic and organisational features of its subject matter which may be of equal interest to users of the newer as of the more tried and tested applications of broadcasting in education.

Thesis and Aims

This study then seeks to shed light on the formation and operation of adult education broadcasting systems and in particular on the relative importance of cultural foundations and more dynamic ideological determinants in those processes by examining their working in the BRD and DDR. The central thesis it sets out to test is that despite fundamental ideological divergence during the post-Second World War period the common cultural influences are enduring and significant and may be clearly discerned in their systems of adult education broadcasting as in other aspects of society. The interest and relevance of this thesis extends beyond the particular and peculiar situation of the two Germanies because of the general importance of distinguishing and evaluating these two strands in any study of adult education processes and systems.

The overall aims of the study which seek to relate the particular thesis to this wider significance are accordingly as follows:-

1. To examine the application of broadcasting in adult education by comparing its formation and operation in two countries with a common historic origin but sharply contrasting goals since the Second World War.
2. To determine accordingly the extent to which a common cultural background on the one hand and post-war social and ideological

divergence on the other have modified or influenced the roles of adult education broadcasting in these countries.

3. To determine, more practically, what lessons can be learned from the comparison useful to research and development elsewhere.
4. Finally, to assess the value of the comparative method in this area as well as more generally, and to establish guidelines for further studies.

The questions the first two aims must address relate to the extent to which the pluralism and market economy within a generally democratic framework of the BRD on the one hand and the state socialism of the DDR on the other have brought about radical changes in their approaches to adult education and broadcasting. For example, have approaches to the teaching of their common language, literature and history through the broadcast media diverged as much as the teaching of politics, economics and civics have more obviously done? Have ideological differences brought about fundamentally different approaches more generally, to the sort of roles demanded of adult education and broadcasting in the two countries?

The third aim requires systematic examination of all relevant stages of the development of adult education broadcasting from policy making and programming through to utilisation and evaluation and is developed at length later in this and in the next Chapter. The achievement of the fourth, requires a critical assessment of the application of the comparative method in a difficult area. It must in particular be asked what it reveals which a systematic examination of a single project, institution or national system would not disclose as well, and without the considerable problems the comparative method involves of acquiring

appropriate and comparable data. The methodological problems involved are again discussed fully in the following Chapter.

Ideologies, Broadcasting and Education

This study is concerned then with some very specific effects (on adult education broadcasting) of the contrasting ideologies of the DDR and BRD and with the comparative approach as a tool for improving our understanding of this or other adult education resources. It is necessary first however to examine briefly these ideological differences themselves. By their very nature, it is often in fact easier to show the effects of ideology on, say political, class, or economic structures, than it is to set down for any one culture, an overt statement of articulated beliefs about the world, man's place in it, human conduct or the organisation of society for different ends. This is particularly true of the Western democracies and of their direct inheritors in other parts of the world.

For example, in attempting to describe the three contrasting ideologies of Marxism, Catholicism and Western Democracy Corbett² used (amongst other sources) the following documents:

Engel's tract 'Socialism - Utopian and Scientific';

Pope John XXIII's encyclicals 'Mater et Magistra' and 'Pacem in Terris';

Letter and speeches of Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln;

Campaign speeches of Woodrow Wilson and F D Roosevelt; and

President Kennedy's Inaugural Address.

He was able, with the assistance of statements such as these, to sketch an outline of these three ideologies which showed some major contrasts

between them in a clear and comprehensible way. When one turns however to attempt to link these ideologies to the societies influenced by them, those links and influences are frequently much less clear. The differences in degree, in fact, of the actual effect on social developments such as education or broadcasting, of ideologies such as Communism and Western Democratic Pluralism are very great indeed. While there are many varieties of Communist belief and political systems they usually share in common a conviction about social ownership and control of national assets, which ensures that overtly stated ideologies are turned into specific aims, resulting in social action. In the West on the other hand, the commonly accepted ideological thread running through statements such as those analysed by Corbett often amounts to little more than a broad pluralist philosophy, permitting not just a great variety of approach to social action but, frequently to no action at all, in the face of gross inequalities, for example, in society, which apparently run counter to aims and ideals expressed by those great articulators of Democracy.

It is perhaps this fundamental difference in the way in which ideologies are translated into action which has caused the very word ideology to be used commonly with a perjorative sense in the West. As Williams points out, there is indeed a pejorative usage in Marxist thought also, the word frequently being used:

1. in the Marxist sense of 'false consciousness'; as well as
2. in the usage of conservative thinkers since the early 19th century to describe 'impractical' ideas, as contrasted with 'sound commonsense', 'Sensible people rely on experience . . . silly people rely on ideology'.

The word is used here however in the more neutral sense suggested by Williams of 'a set of ideas arising from a given set of material interests'.³ The Western Democracies then are united broadly in adherence to an ideology which is pluralist, rooted in a general belief in private property and which defines democracy in terms of free speech and free elections. By contrast, Communist Bloc states share a much more specific adherence to a more overt ideology:

1. they are authoritarian single-party states (in effect - there may be other parties so long as they do not threaten the authority of the ruling Communist Party in practice);
2. they are based on the social ownership and control of national assets; and
3. while recognising the concept of democracy, they define it in terms of power for 'the people', and view Western 'bourgeois' or 'capitalist' democracy as inimical to true popular power in the popular interest.

This extremely brief account of ideological differences in Western and Eastern Europe is intended to serve merely as background to what is here our main concern - the effects of such ideologies on broadcasting and adult education. It is for this reason that stress has been laid on the very different ways ideologies affect policies for social services and developments of all kinds according to their fundamentally pluralist or centralist nature. Existing European broadcasting systems are particularly good examples of this. Those of the West are committed to the pluralist concepts of entertaining, informing and educating across a wide spectrum of public needs and tastes. In the East, on the other hand the central function of broadcasting, as of the other mass media, is to work with other organs of the state towards making a reality of a

particular concept of socialism and indeed socialist man. Accordingly, simpler and much more monolithic systems have evolved.

Western Models of Broadcasting

Some general issues affecting the more complex, pluralist models will not be discussed before looking at two examples in more detail. Western models appear to have evolved in practice through their varied attempts to solve two main problems:

1. Securing an appropriate balance between adequate control and regulation on the one hand and adequate democratic and professional rights and freedoms on the other; and
2. Finding appropriate means of financing a product with the unique problems attending the literal casting abroad of its materials to all consumers possessing access to the appropriate equipment for receiving it. As finance is one of the most obvious forms of control, these problems inevitably overlap. Western European models have in principle however (if not always in practice) increasingly attempted to keep the two issues apart. This means that countries may adopt similar answers to the first problem, while finding quite different solutions to the second. The French and Spanish systems, for example, were, until recent radical changes in both countries, alike in maintaining strong central government controls over all aspects of broadcasting production and transmission. Spain combined this however with a purely commercial system of finance through advertising while France maintained the more common West European practice of balancing licence fees with a strictly limited and regulated contribution from advertising.

All European states exercise some kind of formal control over the transmission of broadcasts necessary to prevent the sort of chaotic and

unrestricted use of wavelengths found for example in the early days of American broadcasting. This necessary power of regulation particularly in the allocation of wavelengths brings with it the potential for political control of the content of broadcasting, either in the negative sense of censorship, or the overt and positive one of using it for propaganda purposes. In practice there have been few examples of this in Western Europe since the Second World War although the Gaullist era in France and Franco's Spain were significant exceptions. Quasi-autonomous bodies of various kinds now control broadcasting throughout this area. They may be single national bodies, as (until 1986) in France, co-ordinating a variety of semi-independent regional or national 'by audience' networks. There may on the other hand, as in Britain or the BRD, be two or more distinct and competing networks each with their own transmission systems and distinct modes of finance and organisation. All governments of course maintain some right of censorship over matters affecting national security. In matters such as the display of violent or obscene material, also, the courts frequently apply the law more severely to radio and particularly television because they are so much more widely and readily available, especially to minors, than other forms of communication. Individual or corporate right of complaint and redress against the media is also secured by means of bodies such as the BBC Complaints Commission. None of these controls, or brakes on complete uninhibited freedom, amount to anything resembling general censorship however and broadcasting freedoms are on the whole jealously guarded by professionals and concerned members of the public alike, in the broadcasting systems of Western Europe.

Political influences on broadcasting are usually indirect and are exercised in the first place through the power of appointment to the various types of controlling body, often containing specifically

appointed representatives of political parties. They also exercise varying degrees and kinds of influence on finance. This may be:

1. Direct as in the common practice of direct government funding of overseas programmes such as the BRD's 'Deutsche Welle' or the BBC's 'World Service';
2. More significantly it may be exercised through the power to establish, allocate and from time to time, change, the licence fee.
3. Governments also retain the power to authorise and regulate advertising, whether as a sole form of revenue (as in the case of Independent Television in Britain) or a partial one (as in the ZDF system in the BRD). These political and commercial influences on broadcasting are of course considerable. Western European models have on the whole however evolved suitable checks and balances which prevent either the open political control of authoritarian governments elsewhere, or the more covert political/commercial influences of systems such as that of the USA.

These 'checks and balances' then, tend on the whole to ensure for West European broadcasters adequate freedoms to exercise their responsibilities as they see them, to inform, entertain and educate. There has however been an increasing realisation in recent times that where such a powerful social instrument is concerned, more accountability on the part of the broadcasters, more possibility of influence and access for the public is required, if the latter are not to remain mere passive recipients of a one-way message. One remaining general feature of Western models which must be mentioned therefore is the variety of ways in which different systems seek to achieve this, in particular through various forms of advisory procedure. Increasingly also, direct public access to microphone or camera is becoming looked on

as a possible contribution to programming. Finally, the more organised control of entire sectors of programming or even of entire channels by various types of interest group within the general public is an increasingly common feature in many systems.

All the systems have advisory councils or committees of some kind, which attempt to draw on the advice or experience of a wider range of public opinion than is possible in the controlling bodies exerting the real power to fix policy, appoint senior staff etc. There are usually a number of these bodies, some advising across the whole field of broadcasting policy, others on particular content areas such as education, religion or music. Increasingly, too, they are appointed to represent local or regional views. The BBC in Britain, for example, has at least 60 advisory bodies including the local radio advisory councils. While they all provide useful links between broadcasters and the public and a valuable safety-valve for criticism it is nevertheless true as Sendall comments that '... in the last resort, these advisory bodies represent nobody but themselves ... we could in theory have 10 or even 100 different General Advisory Councils and have equally valuable ~~through~~ appreciably different discussions with each.'⁴ The increasingly sophisticated research and evaluation practised by most broadcasting companies today is likely on the whole, to offer more useful practical feedback and guidance for both broadcasters and those who exercise overall control over them. Advisory bodies however frequently provide a valuable forum for public relations which is particularly necessary where significant regional differences are to be found as in say, Brittany or Scotland, or Flemish-speaking Belgium.

Writers on broadcasting, from Brecht in the Thirties (as discussed in more detail in Chapter Four) to Groombridge in the Seventies have often called for a more positive and creative involvement in broadcasting by a much wider public. 'The question facing TV' the latter concluded 'is, will it continue to alienate us from the world and from the possibility of effective action, or will it help us create a world in which effective action is possible?',⁵ What has since become known in Britain as 'Access' broadcasting, where the camera or microphone is handed over to particular individuals or groups has shown some limited developments, in for example the BBC's Community Programme Unit, with series such as 'Open Door', or in Channel 4's 'Right to Reply' with its 'Video-Box' system of virtually immediate, direct access to transmissions for the few chosen each month. The BBC by contrast prefers to provide professional guidance and technical assistance, combined with virtually complete freedom as regards content, to the selected group representing community interest. Yet another approach to access broadcasting is to be found in Denmark. Here, individuals or small groups are given intensive training in radio production techniques over a period of some months. They are then given studio time and a budget to make their own programme virtually without professional help. Finally the ever increasing use of the 'phone-in' format, or in the case of many local radio stations, an open-door 'drop-in' policy of access represent further moves towards increased democratic participation in broadcasting. Progress remains slow however and achievements marginal in effect and Groombridge's warnings of the early Seventies about the potential of those media to alienate and divide, are being made by contemporary critics of broadcasting with increasing frequency in the increasingly turbulent social conditions of the Eighties.

Apart from advisory systems and access schemes of various kinds, the third and potentially most effective way of ensuring that broadcasting does not remain the preserve of professional or political elites, is to open up the whole process of the planning and production of general output to wider public control. The Netherlands offers the most ambitious example of a system designed to achieve this. There, any organisation, such as a trade union or a church whose members include more than 15000 licence holders, is entitled to one hour of programme time per week - the time to be increased pro rata, as its membership increases. In theory this is highly democratic. In practice the weakness of individual small providers in terms of finance, talent and other resources, obliges them to rely extensively on cheap imported products such as old American TV series. The end result is therefore neither as distinctively Dutch or democratic or representative of the principles and ideas of the participating bodies as could be wished for. Recent developments in community-controlled local radio or in community cable TV may provide more effective developments in this direction despite similar financial problems.

This study is particularly concerned with structure and processes in broadcasting and with their effects on its application to adult education and for that reason has concentrated mainly on these aspects till now. There are of course larger themes regarding ideology and broadcasting which can only be very briefly touched on here. Programme content, ultimately is a result of many other factors than overt structures of control. The cultural domination of American popular television from 'The Flintstones' to 'The Colbys' or 'Dynasty' over most of the non-Communist world has been much studied and theories of cultural dominance or even neo-imperialism propounded. As the national

level, power elites of various kinds are seen to dominate the quality and content of output whatever the overt system of control or formal public access, though the exact nature of that domination is a frequent matter for debate between critics of the right and critics of the left. The former see broadcasting as a threat to traditional cultural values in general and often accuse it of political bias to the left. The latter, as Golding puts it, 'attack the media for their manipulative use by power holding elites . . . to distract the working class from its revolutionary potential . . . and for their role in spreading values in support of an inegalitarian status quo by presentation and legitimation of a political consensus.'⁶

While these dominant themes of contemporary mass media studies cannot be taken up here, it must be noted in concluding these general comments on ideology and broadcasting that there is a homogeneity in output over most Western European broadcasting in spite of the diversity of formal structures described above. American or American influenced light entertainment whether as games shows, cartoons or soap operas dominates TV. American influenced popular music dominates radio. The presence of this feature of broadcasting in the West, as much as the more overt domination of communist ideology over that of the East is clearly a factor which must be borne in mind in this study of a particular (and minor) aspect of broadcasting output.

Broadcasting in the UK and BRD

As a more concrete illustration of how the major problems of control and finance together with related difficulties such as access and accountability have been dealt with in practice, the British and BRD systems will now be discussed briefly (that of the BRD being examined in

more detail, naturally, in later Chapters). While all West European countries have developed their own distinctive answers to the basic problem of how to balance democratic rights and freedoms against the need for regulation and control, Britain is unique in having evolved two quite distinct and independent systems, one supported by licence fees, the other by advertising revenue. Others, including the BRD, have developed similarly distinct and competing systems with all the possibilities for democratic pluralism and representativeness which that encourages, but always with a mixture of advertising (and sometimes other sources of revenue) with licence fees in each system.

In Britain the bodies appointed by Government to supervise and control broadcasting are the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) and the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) - the first controlling the commercial system supported by advertising, the second that financed by licence fee revenue paid by all owners or users of receiving equipment. The two bodies are alike in their method of appointment by the Home Secretary, as in the fact that each owns and controls the technical means of transmission. There however, all similarity ends as the IBA has no direct role in the production process. Instead it selects and appoints:

1. The 15 Independent Television (ITV) companies which provide local and networked programmes from regional bases in specific areas of the country;
2. A company (currently TV-AM) to provide a national breakfast-time service;
3. Some 50 Independent Local Radio (ILR) companies; and
4. The Channel 4 Television Company, a wholly owned subsidiary company of the IBA, and its equivalent in Wales, S4C (Sianel Padwar Cymru).

While the latter fulfils the special role of catering for Welsh language interests, Channel 4 generally provides a complementary service to ITV, similar to BBC2's relationship to BBC1.

All production for these networks is financed by the sale of advertising time. The companies pay rental to the IBA to meet its costs in administering the system and operating its network of transmitters. The ITV companies must further meet the costs of Channel 4 and S4C through separate subscriptions (though they recoup these at least in part by their rights to advertise in their own regions on those channels). The companies also own jointly and maintain Independent Television News (ITN) which provides a common national news service for both channels. The teletext service 'Oracle' is also jointly owned and maintained - though rapidly becoming self-supporting through its own advertising.

The IBA exercises strict control over the amount and content of advertising and has some influence on programme planning, where it has a general responsibility to ensure the maintaining of standards and a reasonable balance between education, entertainment and information. Its authority stems ultimately from its powers to issue and terminate contracts to companies, on the basis of their maintaining agreed standards in serving both their local communities and the national networks. Monitoring and some limited co-ordination of these services, together with the operation of technical facilities are carried out by a Director General and some 1500 staff, many regionally based. Some 700 members of the public serve on a number of advisory committees, including an Adult Education Section of the Education Advisory Council. The IBA Programme Support and Development Group provides more practical support to the companies in encouraging effective utilisation of adult education programmes.

The ultimate responsibility for the nature and quality of programming however rests with the companies once appointed. In areas such as adult education in particular, where the competition over ratings with the BBC is less crucial, the good will and sincerity of the companies in fulfilling the undertakings made when tendering for their contracts, remain all-important. Here a more general sense of the need to establish a reputation equivalent to that of the BBC for its prestigious output over the years has no doubt helped to produce the substantial and enriching contribution to adult education resources in Britain from ITV and Channel 4. They provide currently over 500 hours of networked adult education programme every year. Each company has at least one Continuing and Community Education Officer (CCEO) who is appointed specifically 'to extend adult education and socially purposive programmes' by 'relating the programmes to specific educational and community issues and needs within their regions, and providing an information and referral point for viewers'.⁷ Channel 4 has a small but extremely productive department providing similar services on a centralised basis. Within its much more limited resources, Independent Local Radio is beginning to collaborate with local agencies to make a modest but developing contribution to adult education, particularly in areas such as local history where it has most to offer.

The IBA system is then distanced and protected from direct political intervention by the double barrier first of its financial independence from government and secondly by the separation of the supervisory function, exercised by the IBA, from programme planning and production exercised solely by the companies. Even Channel 4 with its closer links to the Authority, is mainly a programme planning and scheduling body, relying almost exclusively for programme production (and largely for

programme ideas also) on a large number of independent production companies, who compete on an equal basis with the 15 contract holders for Channel 4 airtime. The BBC is in a theoretically weaker position. It is in the first place dependent on Government for the regulation of the licence fee which is its main source of income. The raising of the licence fee, particularly in periods of inflation when it is likely to be most necessary, is traditionally carried out with extreme reluctance and usually at a rate far below that considered necessary by the Corporation. The second 'distancing' element of the separation of programme planning and production from general control and supervision is also missing as the BBC is responsible for the entire process of broadcasting.

In practice, however, a historical tradition has evolved almost in the nature of an unwritten constitution, protecting the BBC from political interference and fiercely defended by the staff, a loyal public and (usually) by the Governors. The work of its first Director General, John Reith, had much to do with the development of this tradition as had the effectiveness of the BBC in maintaining national morale during the Second World War. During that period too it built up its international reputation for broadcasting standards particularly in the area of truthful and accurate reporting of the news. This reputation has grown even more with the advent of television as an insatiable international medium where BBC standards both as regards technical quality and programme content are widely regarded as leading the field. Its international reputation has undoubtedly played a part in protecting its independence at home, in spite of intermittent pressure from governments of the right to curb its freedoms to comment politically, to exercise

artistic censorship, or to introduce advertising as an additional or alternative source of income.

The formal structure of the BBC is straightforward in essence. The Board of Governors exercises a general control on overall policy, in making senior appointments and in acting as a buffer between the Corporation and its staff and Government and other political pressures. It leaves the direction of affairs for the most part however to the Director General and his Board of Management. The main areas of Radio, Television and External Services (the latter separately funded by Government) are all headed by their own Managing Directors. Other divisions include News and Current Affairs as well as the various support services such as Engineering, Public Affairs, Finance and Personnel each with a Director in charge. There are Controllers for each of the two television and four national radio channels (called simply BBC1 and 2, and Radios 1, 2, 3 and 4 respectively) as also for Northern Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Local Radio and a number of areas including Education.

The extensive Advisory network already mentioned includes a Continuing Education Advisory Council. Continuing Education liaison staff operate in the various regions much as do the CCEOs described above and on a similar geographic basis of approximately one per national region, or the equivalent area in England. Output in Continuing Education is some 400 hours of television and 300 hours of radio per year - figures which could be doubled if Open University output is added.

The twin systems which have developed in Britain have then secured similar degrees of effective independence by contrasting means - a complex system of checks and balances in the IBA system, a constitution relying formally on a Board of Governors as a buffer in the case of the BBC, though informally on its reputation and on its place in the affections of the British public. Political balance in programming is left on the whole to journalistic ethics to determine. Special provision is made however for:

1. Party Political Broadcasts, detailed arrangements for which are made by representatives of the BBC, the IBA and leading political parties who agree annually on provision. This usually amounts to about one hour on television to each of the two main parties, somewhat less - around forty-five minutes - on radio, with pro-rata allocations to the smaller parties;
2. Ministerial statements deemed necessary from time to time, because of particular national needs or emergencies. In this case the appropriate opposition member must be given an equal allocation of time to reply - usually on the following day;
3. Finally the BBC must by its constitution report daily on the proceedings of Parliament.

This system is never fully to the satisfaction of politicians, and charges of bias are continually being made against broadcasters by one party or another. Nevertheless fair reporting and access is maintained generally, and political interference with journalistic and artistic freedom prevented, without any more formal controls than those described.

In the BRD on the other hand the requirement for formal political balance or 'Proporz' may almost be said to be the keystone of the entire broadcasting system. 'Proporz' is one of the chief and also one of the most troublesome features of the constitution of both the national system, 'Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen' - Second German Television - (ZDF) and the regionally or Land-based systems which together compose the 'Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland' - Association of Public Broadcasting Organisations of the BRD - (ARD). All have basically similar systems of self-government through three tiers of responsibility:

1. A 'Rundfunkrat' or 'Fernsehrat' - Broadcasting or Television Council - which is composed of representatives of all major political and social groups and which deals with basic policy matters and the election of the 'Intendant' - Director General.
2. A 'Verwaltungsrat' - Administrative or Management Council - which supervises the day-to-day management of the organisation.
3. The Intendant who exercises considerable autonomy as chief executive particularly over programme content.
4. In addition, most organisations have a system of specialist advisory committees usually including education.

The key legal measure which established the present position in law of these bodies was a Federal Constitutional Court ruling of 1961 which forbade the control of radio or television by either the state or commercial or other groups within society. All relevant political, trade union and other important social groups were to be allowed influence through the various controlling and advisory bodies as well as fair exposure and access on programmes. All attempts to set up commercially controlled broadcasting have been successfully resisted.

The nine Land-based organisations control both television and radio in their own geographical areas. They transmit a largely regional radio service and a mainly networked television service with brief regional opt-out schemes. This television service is formally known as 'Deutsches Fernsehen' - German Television - but is usually referred to simply as the 'Erstes Programm' - First Programme.

They are also responsible for a more local Third Programme which transmits schools, adult education, arts and other minority interest programmes. ZDF as a national service competing with ARD television combines the more popular type of programming of ARD's First Programme with many excellent adult education arts and science and science programmes of more minority interest. There are finally two national radio services. 'Deutschlandfunk' - German Radio - is the only national radio service directed at Germans in Germany. It is also in effect an external service for German speakers elsewhere in Europe, particularly in the DDR, so a wide range of functions are demanded of this service. 'Deutsche Welle' - literally 'German Radio Waves' but usually translated 'Voice of Germany' is a more specific equivalent of the BBC External Services, broadcasting in some thirty languages all over the world.

Finance is mainly by licence fees which are split on a 70-30 basis between the ARD organisations and the ZDF. A small proportion of total income comes from advertising revenue. This is nevertheless of considerable importance to ZDF in particular competing as it must with the combined weight of the ARD bodies. Almost 40% of ZDF's income comes from this source, as compared with only around 6% for the ARD system. Another contrast to the British system, besides this mixed economy of financial support, lies in the system of collection of licence fees.

These are collected by the broadcasters themselves through a joint body, the 'Gebühreneinzugszentrale' - Central Licence Fee Collection Agency - (GEZ) thus providing yet another defence against government influence upon their activities.

There are two main problems attendant upon the BRD solution to achieving democratic pluralism in broadcasting by striking a formal balance between the various political and other groups in society. These concern its effects firstly on senior staffing and secondly on programme content, particularly in the area of news and current affairs. The achievement of 'Proporz' has led to the practice of virtually political appointments designed to secure a balance, in senior staffing at least, roughly equivalent to the political balance on the Council of that particular organisation. On occasion a so-called 'grey' or neutral Intendant is appointed. Often however, the practice of 'Proporz' prevents the most suitable appointment being made. A 'non-grey' Intendant may often become involved in unfortunate disputes with members of opposing political parties. In the case of programme content, 'Proporz' is often interpreted as balance within each individual programme, leading to colourless political comment. There is often a tendency amongst political representatives on the various Councils to discourage incisive reporting on local or national issues in the name of 'Proporz'.

Broadcasting staff led by the powerful Intendants have resisted this negative form of political influence strenuously and often successfully. The constitutional position of broadcasting will however make this a continuing problem for development of effective news and current affairs broadcasting in the BRD.

East European Models of Broadcasting

A related notion to 'Proporz' is often referred to in Eastern Europe. This is the idea of 'bezkonfliktnost' of 'avoiding conflict' which is a frequently expressed ideal of television journalism in particular. In reality, the overt control of all levels of this as of other means of communication by party machinery makes any kind of conflict of opinion virtually impossible. As the DDR Central Committee stated in 1972, the mass media should be seen as 'a tribune of socialist democracy . . . promoting the formation of the opinions and the ability to make judgements on the part of the people'.⁸ This frequently stated view of the media results in relatively simple control and management machinery for broadcasting institutions throughout Eastern Europe. Separate Party Committees for radio and television control all staffing and policy making decisions in accordance with current party policy. Loyal party membership is essential for posts in key areas such as production and management. The adherence to a common party line on all areas from news reporting to education is absolute. Rare deviations from it as in the 'Prague Spring' of the Sixties is seen as striking at the very roots of state security.

Minor variations occur within this common monolithic framework. In the USSR, for example, the sheer size of the system encourages some diversity within it. The Committee for Television controls a Central TV service which broadcasts on eight channels, the third of which is reserved for education and popular science programmes. The Radio Committee controls 162 regional and district stations, 113 of which broadcast in two or more languages, as well as three 'all-union' channels, the third of which again is devoted to education, literature

and music. This mammoth system is fully state financed thus doubly securing effective state control.

In the DDR on the other hand, the two-channel television system, and its five-channel radio equivalent, are financed by licence fees paid by all except pensioners. Competition from BRD radio and television, fairly easily received in the DDR, has further influenced actual programme content. Much popular Western music is to be found on radio, for example, while on television many West European programmes are to be found - especially those of a suitably neutral political character such as nature programmes, or the more old-fashioned sort of 'Krimi' or detective thriller.

It is clear from these examples, then that the ideological starting point of the Western democracies leads to extreme complexity and variety, that of the Communist Bloc to relative simplicity and uniformity, in the models of broadcasting system which they produce. The former must seek answers to two distinct though related problems:

1. combining democratic freedoms, accountability and, to a limited extent, access with responsible and necessary controls, through various complex forms of 'checks and balances';
2. achieving the most suitable forms of finance to support the system or systems developed in each country to meet its own particular demands on the medium. This is done through licence fees; through advertising; sponsorship, or other means independent of government; or (more rarely and usually for supporting external broadcasting) by direct government grant. Commonly combinations of all three types of support are found.

Communist states on the other hand, regard their broadcasting systems like their other mass media institutions, as, first of all, important forces for social control and development and have accordingly developed straightforward 'line-of-management' systems, with Party committees in direct control and loyal Party membership demanded of holders of most, certainly of senior, posts within the system. Some variety is found with regard to financing the systems. Usually either direct grant or licence fee is employed, though some minor use of advertising (by state enterprises) has been tried in some Communist countries.

Ideologies and Adult Education

Whereas the above discussion has dealt with one powerful technology and its social utilisation, we must now turn to the more complex of the twin themes of the study - adult education. As a process involving learners and teachers on the one hand and a body of knowledge, skills and less tangible beliefs etc to be learned on the other, it is seldom open to description as a 'system' in the sense employed above. It takes place within a variety of educational institutions or distinct learning systems within each country. It may possibly - depending on the strictness of one's definition of the sphere - take place quite outside such systems and institutions, for example through individual use of the resources of libraries, the mass media, art galleries or museums. The overall philosophy about the funding, structuring and ultimate aims, methods and content within these various possible paths to learning may likewise take numerous contrasting forms. As far as this study is concerned, the field is understood broadly in the widely accepted terms of the definition of continuing education given by the Advisory Council on Adult and Continuing Education for England and Wales:

The Council's broad definition of continuing education does not draw artificial boundaries between education and training, between vocational and general education, or between formal and informal systems or provision. It includes systematic learning wherever it takes place. The existing distinctions, often made to suit administrative or funding purposes are not important to adult students either now or in the future.

The Council advocates the development of a 'comprehensive system' of continuing education not as another education 'sector' to march beside the administratively distinct areas of school, further and higher education, but as a conjunction of policies, funding, provision and attitudes to promote changes in all the present education sectors to the advantage of a rapidly growing number of adult learners.⁹

As Groombridge points out, not the least significant advantage of such a broad definition, or description, is that its general acceptance would "reclaim the phrase 'adult education' not for the narrow traditional concept, but for the total domain, far wider than continuing education itself".¹⁰ A particular advantage for this study is that it is a relatively neutral description in ideological terms and therefore applies equally well to both countries under consideration.

Overt statements about this missing ideological element, pointing to the ultimate aims of such 'systems' are many and varied. The first significant contrast to point out however, is that mentioned with regard to broadcasting - that in the Communist Bloc, ideologies are quickly turned into action in the development of appropriate adult education

systems and resources. In the West on the other hand, implicit ideologies or overt aims and philosophies may remain largely unfulfilled ideals for generations. A good example of this is the issue of vocational and non-vocational or 'liberal' adult education. Until the comparatively recent acceptance in Britain, for example, of the ACACE terms of description given above, it had been the common practice there, as Lowe observes, to restrict the term adult education "largely to non-vocational education voluntarily undertaken by people over eighteen".¹¹ It was identified with 'movements' such as the WEA or the Folk High Schools of Denmark or Germany.

Lowe also points out that this historic identification of adult education with liberal adult education, endorsed to a very large extent by the seminal 1919 Report on Adult Education in England and Wales¹² brought about "an official and popular view of the education of adults doomed to make a relatively slight impact upon a nation which assesses all forms of education in utilitarian terms . . . that has hampered progress ever since 1919."¹³ While terminologies in Western Europe show enormous variety, there nevertheless persists a tension between a liberal ideal of individual development and self-realisation on the one hand, and an assumption on the other that in practice, only vocationally oriented adult education geared to the specific needs of the economy (or occasionally society in a broader sense) justifies a substantial allocation of national resources.

In Communist Bloc countries on the other hand, there is no such tension to deflect aims or cloud policy making. In the decisions of the 26th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in 1981, for example, one important task for the economic and social development of the country

was given as "expanding the possibilities for a harmonious intellectual life of the people, ensuring a further advancement of education and culture, stepping up moral education, developing a communist attitude to work and the national economy " . . . and ensuring more specifically , "fuller satisfaction of the country's needs in specialists and skilled workers."¹⁴ An even more confident conflation of the good of the state with that of the individual may be found in the statement by Andropov, General Secretary of the Central Committee, in 1983: "The Party works towards educating people . . . first of all as the citizens of a socialist society, as active builders of communism, embodying ideological principles, morals and interests, high culture of work and behaviour."¹⁵

In the West, the adult education ideal has been, by contrast, to place the focus on the individual learner, as the concluding phrase of the ACACE statement indeed stresses. In practical terms of state support for different types of adult education activity the contrast is in fact less marked. Indeed, writing a decade after his last statement, Lowe still saw one of the major problems for the future as "the risk of adult education being subjugated more and more to the exigencies of economic productivity. Occupational training will receive every encouragement from the public authorities whereas other activities will be neglected."¹⁶ During that same 60-year period since the publication of the 1919 Report, when ideals and practice in Britain stayed to a large extent out of step, adult education in Russia had in fact made major advances in many areas. Several quite distinct changes of focus were made in that period, each relating to specific national needs of the time, each resulting in massive concerted national effort and application of resources to what were seen as the important problems of

the day. The 7th Congress of the Russian Communist Party for example, meeting in the same year as the publication of the Smith Report, pointed to illiteracy as the major problem facing the new state. A Decree 'On the Eradication of Illiteracy Among the Population of the Russian Federation' was signed by Lenin in December 1919 detailing plans for a nationwide campaign. According to the last previous census in 1897, illiteracy at the time of the Revolution must have been in the region of 70%. By the outbreak of the Second World War, twenty years later, it had dropped to 12%, and twenty years after that, was considered virtually eradicated.¹⁷ By then, succeeding statements of aims had shifted the emphasis of adult education practice more and more into the kind of vocational and political focus found in the statements above, typical of the last decade.

Too much should not be made of this point, which is perhaps simply a gloss on that made with reference to broadcasting, that one is more likely to find 'hidden' ideologies in the West and overtly articulated ones in the East. The differences in substance remain considerable as will now be examined. The contemporary Western situation has been well described by Huberman, who has pointed out that through we now understand a great deal about adult learning, its relation to different stages of life and to motivation and ability at these various stages, "those findings have been put to limited service in educational practice. Continuing education has not been planned as a whole . . . A number of different agencies, both commercial and non-profit, began to offer programmes in which, for the most part, the demands of the economy, the doctrines of the church, the profit incentives of promoters or the more mindless leisure time interests of consumers were given the most importance."¹⁸ Major policy changes have tended to come in

response to specific needs of the economy, as when the BRD for example, in response to its so-called 'Defects Report' of 1978, made urgent improvements in the system of vocational education (discussed in detail in Chapter Three). A general down turn in the economy, on the other hand, has often led to severe cuts, invariably falling most heavily on the more 'liberal' side of adult education.

Just as in the case of broadcasting, the important issues have to do with finance and control. However in the case of adult education, what is financed and controlled is seldom a single readily comprehensible entity like a broadcasting system, however complex. As the quotation from Huberman indicates, this is certainly never so in the West. Even in Communist states, the diversity of provision is frequently considerable and complex, with factories and other state enterprises, universities, 'people's universities' and many other bodies not least the broadcasting organisations, all having important roles. The influence of governments on adult education is often less direct therefore, than on other branches of education, despite the ultimate authority of the Communist Party. This would usually be felt even in voluntary societies such as the Russian 'Znaniye' which organises informal adult education activities at town and village level. Only Yugoslavia amongst Communist Bloc countries has made a firm move towards decentralisation and self-management for many such organisations and institutions. In the West, especially at the more liberal end of the spectrum, important progress in adult education has often taken place with minimal or no state funding - hence the still common notion of adult education as a 'movement' rather than a service to which every citizen should have as much right as protection from crime, or collection of household refuse. Often, bodies like the WEA or Folk High

Schools have started as voluntary initiatives, then achieved some measure of state support, without in general, losing their independence and individuality of approach. Overall control of this diverse field of activity tends to be achieved through legislation or policy directives on broad issues such as paid educational leave, the setting of minimum standards of provision for local authorities, or the control of commercial educational organisations.

National Models of Adult Education

It is then difficult to describe this diverse field of activity in terms of 'systems'. However some discussion in general terms of the models which have evolved in recent years is necessary as a background to the more detailed description of the DDR and BRD systems taken up in Chapter Three. In the USSR for example, it is in fact common to speak in terms of two sub-systems:

1. Initial Adult Education; and
2. Additional Adult Education.

These are further subdivided as follows:-

<u>Initial Adult Education</u>	<u>Additional Adult Education</u>
General Secondary Education of working youth and adults within the school system; Basic Vocational Education in schools and the workplace.	Political Education at many levels; Raising vocational courses, special purpose courses; Raising the general cultural level in many areas, but especially natural science and its applications.

These activities take place in a wide range of institutions, including universities and voluntary societies, but are generally more directly

state run than is the case in the other Communist Bloc countries. For the latter, Kulich's model,¹⁹ focused on the institutional setting, is more helpful, in particular because of the greater role played by the enterprises in adult education. He describes three sub-systems:

1. The School Sub-System Education may be organised here through evening classes in regular schools (as in Czechoslovakia), in Folk High Schools (as in the DDR), but most commonly in special adult schools offering a range of full or part-time courses often including distance learning options. Paid educational leave and other benefits are usually available within this sub-system.
2. The Out-of-School Sub-System - consisting of a wide range of bodies, especially Communist Party schools and evening universities (with compulsory attendance for members). Societies for the dissemination of scientific knowledge such as TIT in Hungary or TWP in Poland are also included in this sub-system.
3. The Training at Enterprise Level Sub-System Whereas the well developed School Sub-System in the USSR frequently runs classes in the workplace, in other Communist Bloc countries this sector of adult education is much more important. Enterprises are usually required by law to provide a wide range of education - not simply vocational education related to their own needs, but general and political education as well. They may even, as in the DDR, be required to provide out-of-school vocational training and work-experience for school children and older full-time students in conventional educational institutions.

For capitalist countries, it would be difficult to produce similar general models, such is the variety and complexity of organisations, institutions, funding and control. However Huberman has usefully

categorised the various agencies involved in adult education in a form which assists comparison with Kulich's Communist Sub-Systems:

1. Agencies developed primarily for educating adults eg university extension and evening classes, 'popular universities', correspondence schools.
2. Agencies developed originally for children and youth - for the most part public schools - which, in response to the need have elaborated programmes of adult education in public health, community affairs, education and the like.
3. Institutions developed to serve the entire community in specific ways and which have expanded to include continuing education, eg libraries, museums, neighbourhood or community centres.
4. Agencies founded for non-educational purposes which have undertaken programmes in adult education in order to strengthen their own situation, eg labour unions, religious groups, co-operatives, health and recreation agencies.²⁰

Some element of public funding and control may exist in all four categories. In general, it is the first three which are usually funded by central government or the local authority while the fourth consists mainly of independent non-governmental bodies. The contribution expected from adult students by way of fees and other expenses varies greatly, as does the kind and level of support provided from various quarters. Paid educational leave is a growing, but still unusual facility, dependent in most countries on the policies of individual employers. Assistance by central or local government towards fees, travel and other study expenses is often means tested where it exists, but is nowhere except in Sweden seen as a universal entitlement for all adults throughout their lives.

Despite these common obstacles to adult education, there would seem on the whole to be a wider range of choice for the individual in Western models. Many non-governmental (and some state supported) bodies have developed forms of education for an adversarial role in society which would clearly be impossible in Communist states. These may range from radical political or trade union courses to local government 'animateurs' or community education workers, who frequently see part of their job as being to help adults to struggle against existing power structures to obtain welfare rights, better housing or other amenities.

Many writers on ideology and education have questioned this picture of greater choice and an adversarial role for education in the West. They see the liberal ideology of education aimed at the fulfilment of the individual as an illusion disguising the true picture of a capitalist society bent on maintaining existing unequal social relations through the manipulation of many social institutions, including education. They point to a 'hidden curriculum' behind the overt one, inculcating values, docility, acceptance of the status quo, and generally facilitating social control. Such a radical critique of the liberal ideology of education has led to proposals such as those of Ivan Illich for the 'deschooling' of society on the grounds (as summarised by Gintis) that "the existing social relations of economic and political life, including the dominant institutional structure of schooling have become impediments to the development of liberating, socially productive (learning) technologies . . . participatory, decentralised . . . (and offering) a radically altered vision of social relations in education."²¹

A less anarchic application of this radical critique of educational aims and structures, more suited to the needs of comparative study may be found in the work of Earl Hopper. He distinguishes between the overt goals of an educational ideology and its effect on educational structures and resources in terms of ideologies of legitimisation and ideologies of implementation. The former may be classified in terms of value (eg collectivism/individualism) and of goals (eg reconstructionism, or the more radical approach of the 'Little Red Book'). Ideologies of implementation may be classified he suggests, according to mode of initial selection in education (eg sponsored/contest) and the pattern of educational routes available (eg elitist/egalitarian). The various combinations of legitimising and implementing forces could then explain equally the divergence often noted between for example the communist aims and the partially meritocratic system of the USSR; or between the liberal aims and economic or vocational emphasis in Western practice noted above.²²

One weakness in this approach is its failure to deal with the content of what is taught or learned in educational systems - a clearly important matter in comparing Communist and Capitalist systems which may conceivably be similar in many other respects - for example in their common trend in recent years, as regards educational technology and methods, to develop individualised, self-managed systems, particularly for adults. In this respect Basil Bernstein suggests that we can helpfully regard formal educational knowledge as a major regulator of the structure of experience as being realised through three 'message systems';

1. curriculum (valid knowledge);
2. pedagogy (valid transmission of knowledge); and

3. evaluation (valid realisation of knowledge on the part of the taught).

The underlying principles shaping these message systems constitute the 'educational knowledge code' which he claims provides a particularly clear example of the social structures which reveal both the distribution of power and the principles of social control.²³ More practically, Davies suggests that definition of knowledge may best be seen as arising out of particular socio-educational networks and power networks. Unless some such focus on the management of knowledge is maintained then "such topics as the curricula, the value of education and the relationships of education to wider social processes will never be given their proper consideration."²⁴ The links suggested by studies such as these between ideology and the content, methods and evaluation of education, might, if valid, be expected to be discernible and relevant in the context of this study.

Ideology and Adult Education Practice in the UK

It may help to clarify these rather general points about the complex relationships between adult education systems or resources and ideology, by examining briefly some examples of these relationships in practice before proceeding to focus on the specific theme of this study. The difficulty of generalising about adult education structures in the West even within one state is well illustrated by considering first some contrasts between adult education in Scotland on the one hand and England and Wales on the other. The English and Welsh systems of today still owe much to the 1919 Report already referred to as an example of a rather explicit ideological statement on the subject. It led to the important Adult Education Regulations of 1924 which made approved

associations such as the WEA or extra-mural departments of universities eligible for exchequer grants and what was called 'responsible body' status legalising their position and entitlement within the education system. It was not until the major Education Act of 1944 however that any attempt was made to turn the 1919 ideal into specific enabling legislation. This defined rather carefully Government, and more particularly local authority responsibilities in that sector. It was to be "the duty of the local education authorities to contribute towards the spiritual, moral, mental and physical development of the community by securing that efficient education throughout these states (viz primary, secondary and further) shall be available to meet the needs of the population of their area."²⁵ LEAs were further directed, in their provision of education, recreation and leisure facilities, to liaise with other providing bodies, such as universities. The great majority of LEAs had, by the early 1970s, developed a considerable provision in response to these directives through specialised adult centres, community schools, provision for general adult needs within FE colleges and polytechnics and in some 27 residential colleges. In 1971, the creation of the Open University greatly increased the total numbers of those involved in part-time higher education - and encouraged furthermore the beginning of a steady growth of resources in the area of distance and open learning which has continued up to the present. The Russell Report on Adult Education in England and Wales²⁶ of 1973 was less far-reaching than that of 1919; and even its modest proposals for further development along the lines of the existing collaborative system co-ordinated by a Development Council have not been implemented to any considerable extent by succeeding governments. The purely advisory Council eventually established for a limited period performed valuable work however in clarifying concepts of adult education - particularly

in gaining wide acceptance of the concept of continuing education as defined at the beginning of this section.

The very nature of the legislative basis of all these developments however, made growth intermittent and lacking in continuity. When the economic uncertainties of the '70s replaced the growth years of the '50s and '60s, adult education was one of the first service to suffer cuts. While these cuts were all serious and considerable, they varied greatly according to local authority area. As Stock has pointed out,²⁷ in 1981/2 fees per tutorial hour charged to adults varied between 21 and 95p per hour. Increasingly, in fact, many adult education activities have become virtually self-funding, as cut-backs have become more severe on LEA, Responsible Body and Open University activity.

The general development of adult education provision in Scotland during this period was quite different as regards discernible ideological impetus. It lacked any equivalent to the 1919 Report, as also to the 1924 Regulations creating funding opportunities for 'Responsible Bodies' - a system which has never developed in Scotland. Its equivalent to the 1944 Act was the Education (Scotland) Act of 1945. This was much less specific than its England and Wales equivalent, and left much freedom of interpretation to individual local authorities. When specific funding for adult education 'approved' bodies was eventually made available in the FE (Scotland) Regulations of 1959, support was limited to administrative, not direct teaching costs, thus creating a particularly obvious inequality with England and Wales, not substantially reduced by the 1969 Act which made informal adult education also eligible for this modest form of support. The decline in many sectors of adult education due to the cuts of the '70s therefore was even more severe in Scotland,

amounting to a 2/3 reduction as between the 1976 and 1977 sessions. To set against these disadvantages there was in Scotland, first of all a long tradition generally, of popular access to education never quite lost sight of, and providing a particularly Scottish flavour to educational development at all levels. Secondly, while the reduction indicated above was unfortunate and significant, it took place in the more conventional area of provision, and at a time when developments in a new area and with a more overtly ideological impetus than usual in Britain, were also underway. This was the area of Community Education, placed firmly at the centre of Scottish adult and continuing education development by the Scottish equivalent of 'Russell' - the Alexander Report of 1975.

Community Education

This concept provides a particularly cogent example of the interplay between ideology and adult education philosophy and practice in Britain. The widely used term has failed to find any equally widely accepted definition. The most useful typology is that suggested by Martin²⁸ in terms of three models:

1. The Traditional model - this is essentially based on a consensus model of society with emphasis on 'top-down' professional leadership, on access and on 'neutrality' as regards social and political issues; the work of Henry Morris and the Cambridge Community Colleges would be influential examples here.
2. The Reformist model - this is based on a pluralist model of society. The emphasis would here be on positive discrimination and social relevance and key influences are the Plowden Report and the work of A H Halsey.

3. The Radical model - this assumes a conflict model of society and emphasises 'bottom-up' organisation, community action and local control. Key influences are Freire and the 'deschoolers'.

The concept of community education was not given formal recognition in the Russell Report, though examples of all three models may be found throughout England and Wales, which have developed through local initiatives. In Scotland on the other hand, the Alexander Report made its own particular definition of the concept the central focus of its recommendations. This definition falls squarely within the Reformist model in the above terms, with its specific mention of the needs of the elderly, the disadvantaged, the handicapped, immigrant and other minority groups, and of the need generally to foster the pluralist society. The Report concludes that "Social, cultural, recreational and educational activities for adults are so interrelated that any attempt to distinguish between them, or deal with one without regard to the other, would be undesirable even if it were possible . . . We therefore recommend that adult education should be regarded as an aspect of community education and should with the youth and community services, be incorporated into a community education service."²⁹ Because no specific legislation followed the Report, it was left to the discretion of the various LEAs to decide how or if they should implement it. In fact all but one have formally carried out the principal recommendation regarding restructuring. Actual practice however has changed in as erratic a fashion as in England and Wales with examples of all three models of approach to community education to be found everywhere, together with numerous examples of provision little changed from the pre-Alexander situation. A recent compilation of opinion on the subject from Scottish educational institutions and elsewhere evinced indeed a general view

that the impact of the Report had been disappointing, to say the least - 'pathetically minimal' in the opinion of the Church of Scotland.³⁰

While such pessimistic views do less than justice to the many excellent developments in such areas as adult basic education it must be recognised that they owe as much to relatively unrelated initiatives such as the BBC Adult Literacy Scheme, or the Open University Community Education Programme, taken up with such enthusiasm by Strathclyde Region in particular.

In general then, this brief examination of ideology and practice in British adult education serves to illustrate the point made earlier about overt and covert ideologies in pluralist societies. While the ideological impetus of seminal documents such as the 1919 Report or the Alexander Report may be considerable, actual progress or development is likely to owe its substance at least as much to less clearly defined or indeed covert ideologies. These commonly adhere to a 'front-end' model of education and are increasingly geared to the specific economic needs of society in the 1980s. In this situation all aspects of education not specifically vocational in nature are therefore liable to erratic development and frequent geographic inequalities. An indication of the variety and complexity of provision currently found in Scotland is given in Fig 1 below.

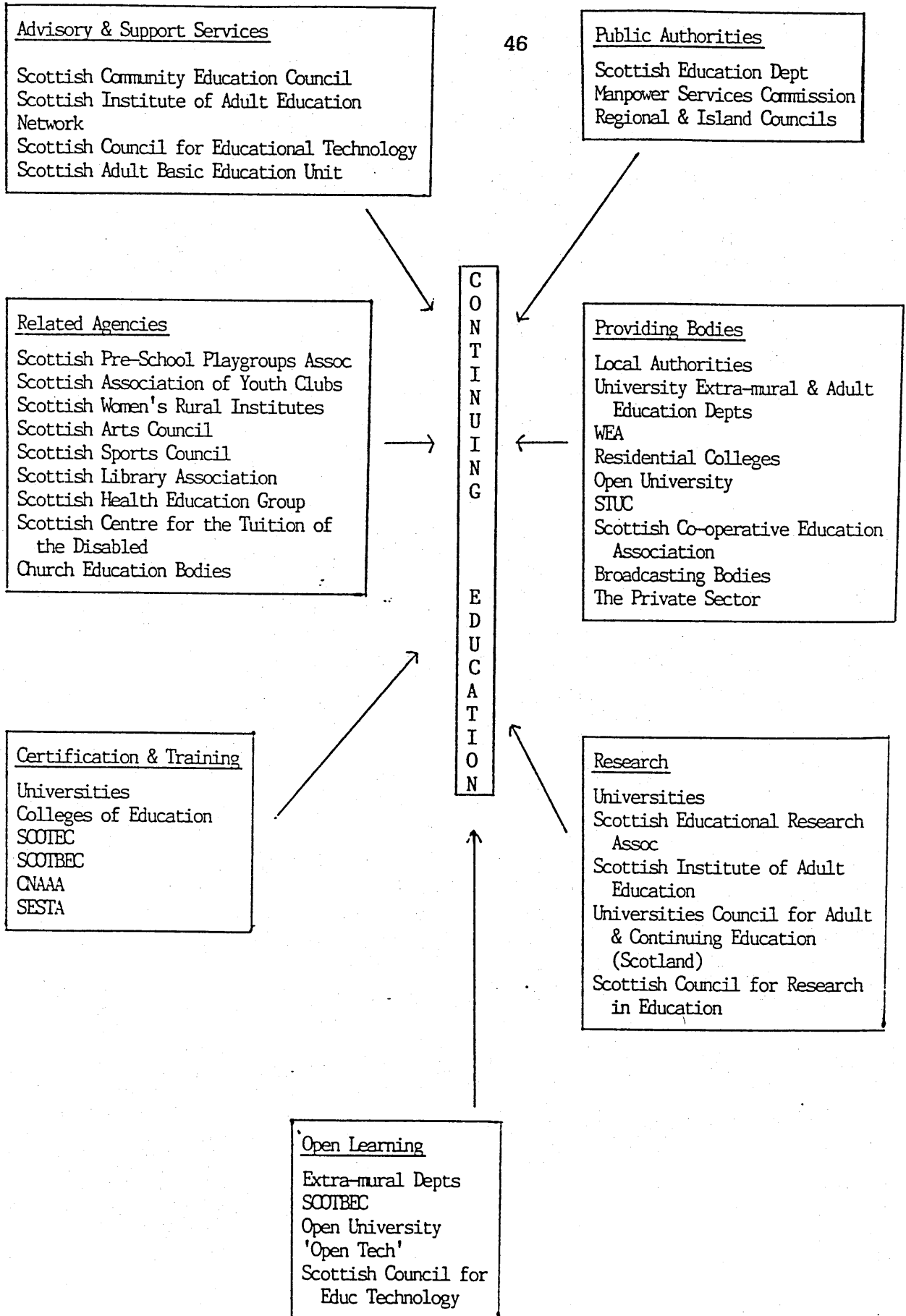


Fig 1.1 Provision of Adult and Continuing Education in Scotland - from Bryant, I Radicals and Respectables, SIAE, Edinburgh 1985

The British adult education system as a whole might well be characterised then as being influenced by a complex mixture of traditional, reformist and radical ideologies, with resources being produced by a wide range of governmental or LEA supported, voluntary, commercial and other bodies. The two sectors of broadcasting - the BBC and the Independent - have accordingly been required to support this increasingly complex range of educational activity by an increasingly complex response. Few explicit guidelines which could in any sense be described as ideological have been laid down for broadcasters. The Russell Report, in line with its modest approach to suggestions for expansion along traditional or moderately reformist lines, requested an "enlarged contribution" from broadcasting as more channel time became available and more significantly, "an organised framework, within which different media and agencies, publicly funded institutions and commercial organisations should come together for the benefit of adult education."³¹ The significant phrase 'analogue to the Open University' was first used by Russell as an example of what was intended by the suggested framework, and has often been repeated since, though without producing any Government response any more than the central Russell recommendation for a Development Council which might have made a reality of such proposals. The more overtly reformist central proposals of Alexander were not followed through in its recommendations for broadcasting which were broadly in line with Russell in demanding more and better co-ordinated adult education broadcasting. Alexander's more specific proposals³² for 'executive' and 'watchdog' bodies in this area were however cumbersome and it is less surprising that they were not followed up.

Neither governments nor educationists have been particularly clear about their demands from adult education broadcasting. It is then greatly to the credit of British broadcasting that a reasonably responsive and flexible system has been developed over the decade since these reports. While contributing richly to mainstream adult education activity, it has also frequently adopted a more reformist stance - as in the Literacy Campaign spearheaded by the BBC with wholehearted support from the Independent sector, in the mid-70s (discussed in more detail in the following Chapter). Local Radio and the independent Channel 4 Television have often taken a positively reformist stance as in the latter's series 'Worldwide Reports' on ecological issues. Robinson has summarised the developing complexity of the relation of broadcasting to adult education and learning in terms:

1. of the changing concepts of the nature of the learners;
2. of the variety of purposes and content which broadcasting can serve; and
3. of the variety of combinations with other learning media and forms of collaboration with other agencies.³³

Adult education broadcasting in Britain might be said then to be performing an ably supportive role for an adult education system which is often less than clear about its own directions and poorly supported by the state. It has furthermore often taken initiatives which might more appropriately have been expected from the adult education sector.

Adult Education in the USSR

In contrast to the structural complexity indicated above, the adult education systems of Communist Bloc countries are relatively simple and straightforward in that only state institutions are involved in the

major provision of educational and learning resources. The voluntary organisations which provide in the main a broadly cultural or educative service are also largely state-funded. In the case of our specific example, the USSR, the absence of 'enterprise' (ie factory or other employer run) schools makes it even more straightforward. There are as already mentioned, two sub-systems, Initial Adult Education and Additional Adult Education. The Ministries of Education and of Higher Specialised Education together with the State Committees on Vocational and Technical Education and on Labour and Social Affairs share responsibility for the Initial sub-system. These bodies, together with the Ministry of Culture are also involved directly or indirectly in Additional Adult education. According to the Central Statistical Board of the USSR the first of these sub-systems had 14.8m participants in 1981, while the second had 100m^{3/4}. The variety of activities within these sub-systems is shown in Fig 1.2.

The overtly political and vocational emphasis of this system has already been indicated in for example the quotation from Andropov above. The determination to ensure that this emphasis is maintained beyond the Initial level is illustrated by the decision of the Central Committee of The Soviet Communist Party of June 1983 regarding the main direction of ideological work and political education of the masses:

- people must be educated so as to feel a need to work, clearly realising that one should honestly work for the common good;
- it is necessary to seek higher efficiency of work and better quality of products;
- the invariable task is to shape a scientific Marxist-Leninist world outlook as the basis of communist education of the Soviet people.³⁵

THE SYSTEM OF ADULT EDUCATION IN THE USSR

I SUB-SYSTEM INITIAL ADULT EDUCATION

General secondary education of working youth and adults	Vocational education of workers in production and at night /shift/ apprentice schools; specialized secondary and higher education of employed people			
Night /shift/ general education school with direct and distance forms of study	Apprentice training courses in production	Night /shift/ apprentice schools	Night + distance study special. second.educ. establishments	Night + distance study depts. of higher educ. establishments

II SUB-SYSTEM ADDITIONAL ADULT EDUCATION

Political education

System of Party studies:	Large-scale forms of polit. education:	System of economic. studies:	Raising the cult. level, dissemin. of scientific knowledge . gen-eral educational outlook of all socio-demographic groups	Raising vocational skills of workers specialists of all categories
Schools of young communists,	People's univ. of socio-political knowledge,	Schools of communist labour,	People's univ. of various profiles:	Raising the skills of workers:
schools of the funda-mentals of Marxism-Leninism,	circles of political knowledge,	circles schools of economic knowledge,	pedagogical knowledge,	Initial courses,
schools of scientific communism,	various forms of political propaganda	schools of advanced experience,	culture,	courses for training in second vocation,
		schools of foremen,	socio-political knowledge,	special purpose courses,
schools of Party and economic activists,		people's univ. of economic knowledge etc	medical knowl.,	schools of advanced work methods,
theoret. methodol. seminars,			legal knowledge,	schools of foremen,
universi-ties of Marxism-Leninism			agricultural knowledge,	communist labour schools,
			scient-technol. knowledge + advanced exper.,	schools of advanced experience,
			economic knowl.,	people's univ. of scient.-technological knowledge,
			natural science knowledge,	economic, agricultural, commercial knowledge etc
			people's univ. for voluntary workers,	
			lecturing,	
			palaces and houses of cul-ture, clubs,	
			lecture halls,	
			museums,	
			libraries	
			voluntary societies,	
			mass media	
				qualification raising depts. at higher ed. institutions,
				depts. for training indus-trial con-struction man-agement workers at higher educ. institutions,
				courses at higher educ. institutions,
				courses in enterprises organizations,
				people's univ. of organiz. and management

Fig 1.2 The System of Adult Education in the USSR (from Adult Education in the USSR, Onushkin and Tonkonogaya, European Centre for Leisure and Education, Prague 1984, pp 94-95)

The role of broadcasting is also explicitly defined (as indicated in the discussion of broadcasting and ideology) in terms of communication, information and propaganda. The USSR makes use of the common formal/non-formal distinction in allocating more specific tasks to broadcasting. It adopts in this respect a policy avoided in Britain (and in the DDR, though not, interestingly, in the BRD) of allocating a specific television channel (the Third) to formal adult education. The other seven channels are all charged with the responsibility of including a proportion of informal adult education in their output. In radio the more widely practised use of the Third Programme for broadly cultural as well as formal educational purposes, is adopted. Collaboration with other educational bodies is practised in at least two ways:

1. in the preparation of support broadcasts for d/l facilities long available in higher education in the USSR and now increasingly in the general secondary and vocational sectors also;
2. in the preparation of both formal and non-formal broadcasts in collaboration with leading educational institutions such as the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. The Herzen Pedagogical Institute in Leningrad has a particular interest in the use of broadcasting for adult education in this way.

In sharp contrast to the British systems then, that of the USSR shows little disparity or divergence between aim and achievement. In the attainment of strictly limited and practical objectives such as the abolition of literacy or the building of an efficient system or

vocational education, it has achieved a considerable degree of success. Where it suffers by comparison as in the provision of a wide range of choice related to individual need or in supporting minority groups and interests within the community, there is overt ideological support available to justify choices - particularly in terms of identifying the good of the individual with that of the state, and in the overriding aim to develop socialist man.

The Two Germanies

In order to understand the unique position of the two Germanies with regard to ideologies and their effects on adult education broadcasting, it is necessary to appreciate the several ideological transformations undergone in those countries both before and after the partition of 1945 deeply affecting every sphere of social activity. As is discussed in some detail in Chapters Three and Four the situation as regards adult education and broadcasting in the decade before partition was a highly abnormal one in that a sharp break had been made with traditions which, while uniquely German, nevertheless had shown links with a common Western European heritage. The educational and broadcasting systems however, together with every other aspect of social and economic life had been swiftly taken over by the National Socialist Party almost immediately upon their assumption of power in 1933. A particularly sharp break with the past was evident in the cases of education and the mass media because of the explicit nature of Nazi ideology with regard to these areas. This had been articulated clearly in the autobiography and manifesto of the Party leader, Adolf Hitler - 'Mein Kampf' (My Struggle)³⁶ - and subsequently elaborated by Goebbels, his Minister of Propaganda, and other party ideologists. The break was so complete, and the search after partition (at least in the West) for more wholesome

earlier traditions so energetic, that the pre-Nazi period is in general, more significant for this study than the 1930s or the War years - except perhaps in the negative sense that 'deNazification' was one of the more important issues in the years immediately after partition.

The prevailing ideology of that earlier period of recent German history was a rigidly conservative version of that found elsewhere in Europe. Its main aims were to maintain a rigidly stratified social system and in particular to stem the rising tide of socialism, often by calling on semi-mystic notions of German nationhood and apartness. The result of this for the masses in the pre-Nazi Germany of the Weimar Republic (the regime of the post-World War One years) was a highly efficient basic education system. Compulsory education from ages 6 - 14 took place for most in a uniform type of elementary school - the Volksschule. This was generally followed by two or three years of part-time vocational education in a 'Berufsschule' for the majority, or by full-time general and vocational education in a 'Mittelschule' or 'Middle School' for the few. Only the children of wealthy or professional families took the elite 'Gymnasium' or 'Grammar School' route towards the qualification of 'Abitur' for the University entrance, or other higher education. This system had been established under strong Prussian influence during the latter years of the 19th Century with the twin aims of combatting socialism and providing the industrial workers and subordinate officials needed by an expanding economy. The so-called 'Bildungsabstinenz' (abstaining from education) of the working class of this period (and indeed into the post-war era) is evidence of the rigid social structure which this initial education system supported.

There was at first no integrated development of adult education in this state system and little support given to independent initiatives. As these were frequently socialist in origin, like the 'Arbeiterbildungsverein' (Workers' Cultural Societies) this is scarcely surprising. In fact they, like the more middle class 'Gesellschaft für Volksbildung' (Society for popular education) ran mainly rather undemanding programmes of lectures and more broadly cultural activities. The 1920s saw the rise of the Volkshochschulen (Folk High Schools). Though inspired by Grundtvig's Danish model, the German version was developed, like the initial education system, by a Prussian Minister of Education, Robert von Erdberg. He saw these institutions, at least in part, as means of combating socialist ideas. The peculiarly German brand of nationalism which was used for this purpose is discussed in some detail in later Chapters. It is sufficient to note here that, while these ideas were turned by the Nazis to their own purposes, it must be a tribute to the essentially independent and democratic spirit of the early Volkshochschulen, that they were all quickly abolished by the Nazis upon their assumption of power.

In their place some 400 'Volksbildungsstätten' (places of folk education) were created, which had 250,000 enrollees by 1939. These were evening institutes run as part of the 'Kraft Durch Freude' (Strength Through Joy) movement and purveyed mainly practical courses such as domestic science, or else topics important to Nazi ideology, like racial history. Adult education was otherwise strictly political and vocational. Some increase in opportunity and breaking down of social barriers which may be traced to this period was strictly limited to loyal Party members and supporters.

The effects on broadcasting of National Socialist rule were even more marked. German broadcasting in the 1920s had developed as rapidly as that of, for example, Britain, in a technical and organisation sense. It also found its Reith in the person of Dr Hans Bredow, who was almost as successful as Reith in keeping broadcasting relatively free of political control during its formative years. However he lacked Reith's vision of radio as a cultural and educative force. For Reith's famous three-fold aims of 'information, education and entertainment', Bredow substituted "recreation, entertainment and variety . . . and to bring some excitement and joy in to the lives of the German people . . . for a joyless people will lose their eagerness for work."³⁷ In the 'Reichs Rundfunk Gesellschaft' (National Broadcasting Organisation) which he developed, there were no examples to be found of the educative use of radio found in Britain, far less of more formal experiments in adult education such as the early Discussion Groups. The considerable debate about the potential of radio in adult education (for example in some of Brecht's writings, discussed in Chapter Four) of the early Thirties make it tempting to speculate that such developments might indeed have occurred, had political events gone other than they did. In fact, one of Hitler's first acts on assuming power was to pass the 'Ordinance on the Reform of German Radio' which placed broadcasting firmly under the control of the newly created 'Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda' (Ministry for National Enlightenment and Propaganda). Bredow was dismissed from office and the system he had created swiftly dissolved. For the next 12 years, programming was made entirely subservient to proclaiming and attaining the aims of the Nazi Third Reich by means of the masterly propaganda techniques formulated in 'Mein Kampf' and developed to a ruthless effectiveness by Goebbels, the new controller of all the mass media of the Nazi state.

The Sources of Post-World War Two Divergence

The violent ideological changes of the inter-war years in Germany gave way to a new phase after the Partition of Germany carried out by the Allies at the conclusion of World War Two, in 1945. In all four zones (Russian, British, French and American) a careful purging of Nazi elements from society - and particularly from key areas such as education and broadcasting - was first carried out. It has become increasingly clear in recent years that this was less effectively and wholeheartedly accomplished in the Western zones than in the Russian. Nevertheless the end result, together with the general social upheaval of the war and post-war years, was to clear the way for yet another period of radical ideological change. It is the socio-political divergence between Western and Eastern Germany which commenced at this time that provides the background and principal rationale for this study.

Though there were four zones, the fundamental ideological differences between Russia and her war-time allies soon led to clear East-West divisions which by 1949 became formalised in the creation of the two separate German states of today. Though the Allies had agreed at Potsdam in 1945 on the reconstruction of German political life on a democratic basis, their interpretations of democratisation were in sharp contrast. Even within the three Western zones considerable variety of approach to democratisation was evident and, as will be discussed in more detail in Chapters Three and Four, left its imprint on the Länder and their institutions to the present day. However there was general agreement amongst the Western Allies on a slow but steady nurturing on a 'bottom-up' basis of local, then parliamentary democracy on a federal basis, of civil liberties, private property and private enterprise. The

Russians on the other hand saw the process, in Mëllor's words as "democratic-centralism . . . provided by the working people through the (Communist) party, in which all organs of and within the state look to its leadership and its direction in planning." This central direction it was argued, would "lead to the liquidation of local egoism and to the fullest possible mobilisation of all the material and human resources within the state."³⁸

The decentralised basis of BRD constitutional and economic development was not in fact, as necessary or inevitable as was rigid centralism to Communist ideology. A more centralised political model, or a more centrally planned economy (or both) along Western democratic lines would have been possible. The economic version at least was advocated by both principal political parties in the BRD in the immediate post-war years, at first with the support of the British Labour Government. American and more right-wing German 'social market' or minimalist planning philosophies however eventually prevailed. It seems nevertheless important for our purposes to distinguish between more central ideological differences relating to overall beliefs and goals, and this more pragmatic issue of centralised versus decentralised systems. While usually considered integral to Communist systems, it may vary in degree, as recent Yugoslavian moves towards greater local autonomy illustrate. In Western democracies there are even more obvious contrasts as between, say, the BRD approach and the rather more centralised British or French systems.

One might therefore usefully distinguish two distinct determinants of the divergence which took place in the BRD and DDR as a result of these

ideological upheavals of the post-war years:

1. Differences relating directly to the ruling capitalist or communist ideology in each state; and
2. Differences relating particularly to the politically and economically centralised system of the DDR as compared to the federal BRD system with its relatively 'free' or minimally planned economy.

Each of those factors may in turn be expected to influence in different ways the principal components of any adult education broadcasting 'system' or of resources, production and utilisation in this area. These components will be more fully discussed in Chapter Two but may be provisionally defined here as: policy making, leading to decisions about content and the organisation of the production and delivery process; and utilisation and evaluation which may or may not be linked to the initial policy making process.

The grid below illustrates the sort of effects and issues one might look for in each of these areas, emanating from the influence of each possible determinant.

	POLICY MAKING	ORGANISATION	CONTENT	UTILISATION
DIFFERENCES OF IDEOLOGY	Overall aims - eg emphasis on national needs or individual choice?	Overt political control at all levels? Or built-in system to minimise political influence?	Type and quantity of teaching on eg religion, politics, economics?	Stress on individual learner? On the teacher or institution? On the workplace and needs of economy?
DIFFERENCES OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEM	Top-down or bottom-up system of policy making? What input from advisory bodies, staff etc?	Centralised or dispersed decision-making about details of production etc?	Common content nationwide, or local diversity?	Centrally or locally planned? By educational or broadcasting authorities? Or left to individual educational organisations?

Thus, one might expect to find a centrally determined policy making process in this area in the DDR, with overall aims relating chiefly to the needs of the state, or to the individual perhaps in terms of the elimination of inequality, certainly in terms of the development of 'socialist man'. In the BRD on the other hand, it would be reasonable to look for some element of dispersed decision making in the formation of policy relating, as regards aims, to increasing individual choice. As suggested in the grid, such divergent policies might be expected to produce appropriately diverse results in the other sectors or components of adult education broadcasting.

There are of course other possible determinants of change. The overall level of success of the economy and the related question of the level of its technology for example are especially important for the consideration of highly social facilities such as those of broadcasting. Many choices regarding these scarce and expensive resources currently available to the BRD are simply impracticable for the DDR at present. The widespread availability of video as a resource for adult education, the growing use of cable television, and plans for satellite television and radio are all possible options and growing points in the BRD which are unlikely to be of great importance in the DDR in the immediate future. It is possible therefore that these closely related matters of broadcasting technology and the general prosperity of the national economy required to support it will be found significant further determinants of divergence in BRD and DDR broadcasting and adult education.

Enduring Cultural Influence

However the principal contention of this thesis is that despite the

fundamental changes in these societies since 1945, common cultural influences are enduring and significant in their systems of adult education broadcasting as in other aspects of society in both countries today. What features of these systems then might be expected to reveal such a continuity of tradition and culture, if it exists in any significant form? The following are proposed as the major factors for particular examination.

1. First of all, one might look for a general modification of the trends hypothesised above on the grounds of ideological divergence. If traditional German culture and education has the strength posited here, then less divergence than expected would in itself constitute some proof. Is the DDR system of adult education broadcasting more pragmatic, less systematically designed to meet purely communist aims than one might expect? Is that of the BRD less aimed at encouraging open access to education, more elitist than one would expect from Western democratic trends in general?
- 2 There are also more positive matters related directly to the content of culture. Is the kind and quantity of teaching of German language, literature and history similar in any respects? Are the more formal, authoritarian, elitist trends in German educational traditions evident in adult education broadcasting?
3. A related question is the strength of relevant cross-cultural influence. Is the DDR more resistant to Russian and general East European influences in programme and course content than might be expected? Is BRD output likewise resistant to prevailing American and West European cultural influences because of the strength of indigenous cultural and educational tradition? Are there significant ways indeed in which the two Germanies influence each others' approaches to adult education broadcasting?

4. There is finally a popular conception of a particular German style and approach to efficiency in the management of organisations. Are these common approaches to be discerned to the important and problematic questions concerning the co-ordination of the activities of the many bodies involved in the production and utilisation of resources in this area?

It is of course possible that other similarities will appear as the study progresses. The above however would seem to be the chief features for examination in setting out to test the thesis which is the focus of this study.

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CHAPTER TWO

THE RESEARCH BACKGROUND

Comparative study in the field of adult education is a relatively new area of research compared with the long tradition - from Marc-Antoine Julien's pamphlet of 1817¹, on through the work of Hans², Kandel³ and others, dealing almost entirely with the field of initial education. It is also a more diffuse and complex area of study to define and give boundaries to. There is a wider spectrum of possible learning activity which might or might not be included than in initial education. (In the case of the present study, the inclusion of broadcasting, with its own variety of disciplinary approaches, further compounds the problem.) There appears to be a degree of consensus amongst adult education comparativists however that the methods developed in the general field of comparative education are, for the most part, applicable to their own area of study.

METHODOLOGY IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

That development has been described by Bereday⁴ as proceeding through three phases, which may be summarised as follows:

1. A 19th Century phase of borrowing - here the emphasis was on the cataloguing of descriptive data with the aim of making possible the transplantation of the best practices of one country to another.
2. A phase of prediction. By the beginning of this century it was clear to comparativists that entire systems cannot readily be transplanted - that educational systems are integral parts of the society in which they have developed. Studies became increasingly concerned rather with the social and cultural causes and origins of educational systems, and with the possibility of using comparative

education to predict the likely success of educational developments on the basis of learning from the mistakes and experiences of others.

3. A phase of analysis. This followed on the realisation that before prediction, borrowing, or other practical application of the results of comparative study are attempted a more systematic, preferably internationally agreed, methodology of data collection and analysis must be applied.

Bereday goes on to claim a general acceptance for the methodology he summarises as follows:

First description, the systematic collection of pedagogical information in one country, then interpretation, the analysis in terms of social sciences, then juxtaposition, a simultaneous review of several systems to determine the framework in which to compare them, and finally comparison, first of select problems and then of the total relevance of education in several countries - these four steps point the way to the future for comparative education.⁵

Several tendencies can be traced in developments in the field since Bereday's account of 1964. One has been an even stronger emphasis on his call for a more systematic approach. Authors such as Noah and Eckstein⁶ have made a case for greater 'objectivity' and the increased use of stricter scientific methodology. There seems greater general consensus however on the problems attending a narrowly conceived approach based mainly on readily quantifiable data. There is a tendency instead to stress the need for clear conceptualisation of the theme of the enquiry, followed by a (possibly eclectic) search for appropriate methods. Contributors to a recent handbook on comparative adult education agreed for example in the words of Charters, its editor, that

'no methodology is unique to comparative international adult education. The method or combination of methods and the design must be appropriate to the subject, focused on adult education and rigorously followed.'⁷

This eclectic approach to methodology is in part the result of a growing awareness that for all its promise, comparative adult education as a rigorous study faces many problems. The most basic of these is the general lack of established data on adult education. Even where it exists, the likelihood of finding readily comparable data in any two or more subjects chosen for study is slim. The authors of the above mentioned handbook for example, were 'usually . . . not able to base their comparisons on existing data from two or more countries. In nearly every case the available evidence was far less than had been anticipated, and in some cases it was so incomplete that the authors had to identify and collect the data in each country as a basis for their comparisons . . . the researcher must often strengthen or add to the basic evidence before making any comparative study . . . researchers are limited both by the secondary analyses they judge dependable or can supplement and by the primary study they can make.'⁸

These limitations are particularly obvious in the sphere of adult education broadcasting where, especially in Eastern Europe there is a dearth of basic information such as production costs or audience participation figures - either because they do not exist or because they are not available either to the general public or to foreign scholars. The above comment about the scantiness of relevant and reliable secondary analyses and the practical drawbacks of embarking on primary studies was fully borne out by the preliminary investigation for the

present study. It was nevertheless considered ultimately worth pursuing in spite of these undoubted handicaps for the following reasons:

1. People of all kinds from politicians to civil servants as well as practitioners in adult education or related fields, do in practice make such comparisons all the time. Whether based on casual holidays or conference visits, or on a more organised study tour, nowadays often seen as a necessary part of professional development, comparisons are made and conclusions drawn. It seems worthwhile therefore to build up a more carefully considered background of evidence and analysis to support such valuable but inevitably more casual study. The need was underlined by the comment already quoted from the UNESCO study 'Open Learning' about the difficulty of transferring systems and the desirability rather of learning from concepts, methods and techniques.⁹ What Bereday had ascribed to naive 19th Century belief was apparently, for the UNESCO team, still worth warning against in the 1970s.
2. From a more specifically methodological viewpoint, there is frequently no alternative for the study of many important issues to the comparative approach. As Noah and Eckstein summarise the argument 'The comparative method provides one of the major routes for validating the most important propositions about education and society. Where controlled experimentation is impossible, controlled investigation, which inevitably calls for comparative study is essential.'¹⁰
3. Finally there is a particular need in the field of adult education broadcasting for more comprehensive studies of a kind which would aid more integrated and systematic development than has occurred up to the present time. Equally in communist as in capitalist Europe, growth in the effective use of these potentially important

resources has been extremely haphazard. Most research and evaluation in the area has been of particular projects - of adult education courses or institutions making use of broadcasting, or of particular radio or television series aimed at adult education. Studies of its overall operation as a national resource for adult learning and education have been rare. This is particularly true of more developed countries with complex and established systems of broadcasting and education.

REVIEW OF RESEARCH IN THIS AREA There appears to be essentially four types of research generally relevant as background for this study from the point of view of methodology or content (or both):

1. The relatively rare comprehensive studies of total adult education broadcasting systems or resources in developed countries;
2. The much more common similar studies in a Third World setting;
3. Relevant project studies which seem to offer methodological or other guidance for this study; and
4. Fundamental studies of relevant topics in this area, for example student learning through various media, theories of distance learning etc.

1. NATIONAL STUDIES OF DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

Broad comparative studies concentrating exclusively on adult education broadcasting are rare. Surveys of national educational systems which include educational broadcasting are more common, but in most cases are concerned mainly with initial education and are in any case usually scant on detail about programming and the policies behind it. One of the first such comprehensive surveys was that edited by Groombridge in 1966.¹¹ It consists of three descriptive studies of adult education

through television in Japan, Canada and Czechoslovakia with analysis and conclusions by the editor. He raises there some key questions which constitute much of the agenda for later work in this field:

Which adult education purposes can be successfully realised on television?

Should special educational or general channels be used?

What is the best way of using limited channel time?

Should the target audience be large and undifferentiated, or small and specific?¹²

In one form or another, these are all questions which will recur throughout this study.

He also pointed the way towards a methodology by suggesting the following necessary issues for any future studies:

1. The social and educational context of any programme studied.
2. The kinds and purposes of the programmes.
3. Exploitation at the reception end.
4. Research.
5. Co-operation between adult educationists and broadcasters.¹³

In addition, he underlines the importance of examining the general broadcasting context of specifically educational programming: 'Because they are the environment in which expressly adult education broadcasting makes its impression, popular programmes in the general output are referred to' (ie in the three national studies).¹⁴

In spite of the mention of the first of these issues concerning the social context of programming, there is in this study little or no reference to the social, political or educational ideologies of the countries concerned. Where three such ideologically diverse countries

as Japan, Canada and Czechslovakia are the subjects, this would appear to be an important topic to consider before drawing general conclusions from comparison. In other respects however this important work provided the essential framework for a model for similar studies in the area, and the above five issues are fundamental to the model ultimately adopted for the present study.

Perhaps the most ambitious comparative survey of adult education broadcasting in Europe ever made was that sponsored by the Council of Europe during the same formative years of the middle sixties, to review developing work (particularly in television) in Western Europe. A questionnaire (see Appendix One for the text) was circulated to all participant states, as well as non-members Finland and Portugal. The replies provide a richly detailed picture of provision for that period. Of even greater interest however is the insight this report gives into early attempts to conceptualism the problems involved in disentangling the various strands of educational and educative programming policy. The preliminary Study Group on the subject fell into some confusion over the distinction between teaching about television and teaching through television, going so far indeed as to recommend the findings of the notable 1962 Oslo Conference on screen education as a starting point for the comparative survey. Fortunately the subsequent meeting at Frascati in 1963 which actually launched the survey, was much clearer about its aims.

It began with the decision "to regard all television broadcasting as potentially educative, and not to confine discussion to programmes of a specifically cultural or educational kind",¹⁶ and then went on to define five types of programme displaying more overt educational or cultural

purpose. These were the broadly cultural, schools broadcasts, higher education programmes, popular adult education and retraining of adult workers. After examining some current concepts of adult and continuing education and noting that the more specific role of television in its development should be as 'a stimulus which gives the viewer the desire to learn more, of his own accord, about the subjects dealt with',¹⁷ the group concluded by returning to their theme of stressing the importance of the overall context of programming content ". . . it is of great importance for the values of our civilisation that the need should be felt to establish a proper balance between pure information and entertainment on the one hand and educational broadcasts on the other."¹⁸ Several of the general remarks about educational television in the individual national responses to the questionnaire were also of great interest, particularly the notable early warning from the Netherlands organisation 'Teleac'. In calling for 'a hard-headed insistence that new approaches prove themselves' they emphasised their belief that 'It is important to avoid getting so enamoured of the instrument itself, that one forgets the educational purposes to be served by TV. The greatest problem facing educational TV today is not cost or technology but programming.'¹⁹

This report is perhaps weakest in its attempts to make a systematic comparative use of the wealth of material gleaned in the various national responses. Some approach is made in the Conclusion to a comparative curricular study of the varying national emphases in programme content. An attempt is also made to distinguish particularly successful uses of the medium, such as the various RAI (Italy) popular basic education schemes and the useful point made that television is especially valuable used 'as a stimulus, awakening the desire to learn

even in a reluctant public.²⁰ Little systematic attempt is made however to relate national needs and policies to output; or to examine in detail the question raised in the introduction about the relative roles of generally educative, and overtly educational programming.

The most directly comparable study found, in its overall aims and intentions very similar to the present one, was that by Glikman and Corduant, who made a brief but systematic comparison of the French RTS/Promotion and the BBC Further Education systems.²¹ An orderly comparison is made, in all except one important respect following the lines suggested by Groombridge for the study of developed systems, and examining:

- the overall systems
- their educational aims
- the programmes and programme policy making
- finance
- personnel
- publicity
- the audience.

The authors attempt to demonstrate the differing links between politics, broadcasting and education in the two countries and show at least the beginning of an exploration of the ideologies behind the respective systems. The concentration of this study on the more formal side of adult education output leaves unexamined the question considered important by Groombridge and the Council of Europe survey, of the general programme setting of such output. Even more significantly, it ignores the key issue of collaboration between broadcasters and adult educators which appears with ever increasing frequency in other research

in this area as one of central importance in all successful developments.

THIRD WORLD STUDIES

Some of the best and most comprehensive studies in the area have been made with the very specific developmental needs of Third World countries in mind. While the settings and systems they describe are very different to the complex and established systems with which this study is concerned, three of them in particular appear to deal with quite fundamental issues of relevance to all concerned with developments in this field.

The first, by Schramm had quite overtly pragmatic aims.²² Its central task was to examine the effectiveness of the broadcast media in meeting urgent national needs, such as extending the school, or supporting adult education and community development. Schramm set out to offer specific advice on these matters to professionals and politicians engaged in planning educational development. This advice is firmly grounded however in a series of studies of past development projects around the globe, and in some valuable basic principles gleaned from that experience. These principles appear for the most part equally relevant to countries with more highly developed systems and may be summarised thus:

1. Above all, the mass media should be used to solve significant problems, not simply because they are there.
2. The argument for starting with this principle lies in the power of these media to 'act as devices to multiply and disseminate very quickly certain selected parts of the information available to a

social system . . . the selection of the material to be disseminated is a matter of importance to the whole society.²³

3. His third major starting point is that 'In describing how and where to deploy broadcasting, we should remember that the new media are not miracle drugs . . . rather potentially valuable system components that may be employed either efficiently or inefficiently.'²⁴ He makes the further important point with regard to the strategy of media applications, that no one medium is restricted to any one problem. Radio and television have both been used in relation to a wide spectrum of national needs, of subject matter and of learning objective. While the question of individual strengths and weaknesses of different media and different combinations of media certainly does not end there, and is taken up later in this Chapter, it does seem important to bear this fundamental point in mind.

Schramm then goes on to apply these principles to the analysis of a number of projects and draws from that analysis a number of requirements which appeared to distinguish the more effective of these projects from the less effective.²⁵ His long list of such requirements may be summarised for our purposes as follows:

1. Matters of policy and organisation such as the preliminary review of need and evaluation of alternatives; and especially unity of purpose amongst the responsible authorities.
2. Matters of planning and production of materials such as the necessity for high-quality materials based on national goals.
3. Matters of utilisation, particularly those of (a) ensuring the appropriate logistics for delivery of materials, and (b) ensuring an effective context for learning at the receiving end.

Arnove, writing a decade after Schramm, approached this same topic of advice for planners (though concentrating mainly on television) with less optimism about its potential. 'By 1975 . . . many of the original proponents of massive utilisation of television have doubts about the wisdom of their advice. The claims that STV would serve as a catalytic agent for overall educational reform and upgrading the quality of instruction . . . with few exceptions, have not materialised. School systems and educational opportunities in underdeveloped countries remain essentially the same.'²⁶ He goes on however to point out:

1. that this is less true of developed countries, where advances, aided to a greater or lesser extent by broadcasting could be cited; and
2. that video and cable amongst the new technologies and likewise the rediscovery of the older technology of radio contain the potential for overcoming many of the disadvantages of the mass media discovered in earlier projects - particularly those of over-centralisation, lack of feedback, and cross-cultural conflicts (eg as caused by the importation of 'glossy' and expensive foreign programmes rather than adapting or creating anew at local level).

Arnove offers a useful gloss on Schramm's point about relating educational broadcasting to national goals and needs - this time with specific reference to the matter of ideologies:

Ideally, utilisation of technologies such as ETV should form part of an education plan reflecting overall national development goals. This set of ideal conditions presupposes that:

1. a national development strategy of ideology - for example, what kind of person in what type of society - exists, stipulating development goals and steps required to reach targets;

2. the role of different types of education programme in development processes has been defined; and
3. the part ETV can play in enhancing the overall performance and contribution of the education system to development has been carefully conceptualised.²⁷

He also takes up Schramm's emphasis on the importance of delivery logistics and utilisation for effective learning, at local control. There should, he argues, be a movement away from 'centralisation of control, uniformity of messages and one-way vertical communication, in the direction of decentralised control over the media and local participation in programme development, reflecting the needs and interests of the diverse populations comprising a society.'²⁸ As a practical example of what this might involve, he suggests the establishment of community learning centres, offering a variety of learning, counselling and participatory activities, and including radio and television as resources like the others, for information and learning.

Rather less pessimistic than Arnove in its overall assessment of the achievements of educational broadcasting, was the contemporary study by Coombs and Ahmed of non-formal education in developing countries. They were equally stringent in their approach however, and after examining critically a number of case studies, they repeat the caution found in Schramm, against 'the temptation to treat a technology - such as radio or television - as an autonomous teaching-learning system that can do the whole job by itself. Sometimes it can, but rarely. For best results it must usually be teamed up with other components to make up an

integrated teaching-learning system.²⁹ Their more detailed recommendations are based on studies of a wide range of projects, but in particular on the use of radio in Ghana (The Cocoa Campaign of 1953-56), Tanzania (radio correspondence groups), Colombia (yearly campaigns by Accion Cultural Popular to promote various aspects of rural health and welfare) and the Philippines (Social Communications Center: production of theme oriented radio dramas with supporting literature and posters). A careful analysis is made of the different media used in each case, in relation to the particular needs of the national or local situation and a useful checklist of preparatory steps for setting up an innovative project is suggested. These followed Schramm in stressing the pretesting of programme content, preparation for utilisation of broadcasts (including hardware) and long range contingency planning for follow-up in the event of success.

Most interesting from the point of view of methodology was the analysis (shown below) of the Colombian schemes which showed the different combinations of media used and the relative importance of each medium in each project. Unfortunately this approach was not used in the other case studies, though it would appear to constitute a useful technique for comparative study. Coombs and Ahmed saw the various possible uses of the media in terms of a spectrum of activities, ranging from informal learning to the more strictly educational activity implied by the term 'non-formal'. They seem to recognise the difficulty of drawing rigid lines of demarcation between, say a jingle about crop-spraying used in Ghanaian Radio general programming during the Cocoa Campaign, the informal but more explicitly didactic radio dramas of the Philippines SCC, and the overt teaching through radio in Tanzania.

EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES

Medium	Health	Literacy	Arithmetic	Economic	Spirituality
RADIO					
Programming:					
Courses	A	B	B	A	A
Informal	C	X	X	B	B
General	X	X	X	X	C
News	C	X	X	C	C
TEXTBOOKS	A	A	A	A	A
BOOK SERIES	B	B	X	B	B
NEWSPAPER					
Sections:					
Information	C	B	X	C	C
Recreation	C	B	X	C	C
Knowledge	B	B	B	B	B
Supplements	B	B	B	B	B
CORRESPONDENCE	C	C	X	C	C
RECORDINGS	C	X	X	C	C
CAMPAIGNS	B	X	C	B	B
LOCAL PERSONNEL (Personal contact)	C	B	B	B	B
Key: A Highly Relevant C Minor Relevance B Relevant X Little or No Relevance					

Fig 2.1 Relevance of Media Employed in the Delivery of Information
According to Educational Objectives of ACPO (from Coombs and
Ahmed pl65)

A fourth similarly broad study of adult education broadcasting in a number of countries of this mid-seventies period did not in fact deal with Third World subjects, though being a UNESCO report it was designed at least partly with their needs in mind. 'Open Learning' adopted the approach, as its title indicates, of treating educational broadcasting in the context of the total learning system of which it is a part. Like the above three studies, it had a specific practical aim - to review developments in Open Learning by means of a number of case studies and

to analyse the main common problems in order to serve as a basis for planners and educational specialists. There was nevertheless some attempt at a methodical setting up of each case study in its historical, economic and social context, though the authors admit that it was 'impossible to make the case studies precisely comparable, because the systems differed so much in origin and character and the data base in so many countries could not be brought into the same framework.'³⁰

The Report begins appropriately with a review of the development of the concept of Open Learning and examines briefly some of the educational and technological issues involved. It then proceeds to a more practical analysis of problems and solutions in the development of such systems, under the following headings:

Students, their situation and needs

Research and evaluation

The curriculum and choice of media

The use of broadcasting

Making the courses

The use and transfer of experience

Effectiveness and costs

Questions for planners

Open Learning - new experiences and new skills

The impact of Open Learning

Of the case studies which follow, only two are of major relevance here - that on the BRD 'Funkkolleg' which will be discussed in detail in later Chapters; and that on the Television Agricultural High School, Poland. The chief aim of the latter project was to enable people working

full-time on the land to complete their secondary education with vocational training in agriculture. It was a co-operative venture, using 'guided self-education' involving a major television component produced by Polish Television in liaison with the Ministry of Agriculture and the Union of Socialist Village Youth, and 'consultations' with teachers at the student's nearest agricultural high school. As elsewhere in this book, there is an excellent description of the organisational framework of the project; but almost no attempt at any kind of educational evaluation of the programmes or their impact. In the particular field of organisation, however, this case study provides a most useful model for future studies in its thorough examination of the purpose, origins and history, courses and curriculum, teaching methods and examinations, enrolment, organisation, control, staffing and finance of the project.

As already noted, directly comparable studies to those discussed above, covering the range of topics of interest for a broad comparative study such as this appear to be scarce in the literature of research. This is of course not true of research into individual topics whether project-based, or more basic research. Bates lists, for example some 200 key books or papers in his wide ranging review of the field.³¹ Most however are concerned with specific, often narrowly focused analysis of programmes and their utilisation. Hardly any examine such issues as aims and policies, or matters of organisation and collaboration which are central here. In his closing address to a 'state of the art' conference on educational broadcasting research in 1976, Dieuzeide commented on the instrumentalist and pragmatic approach of most papers, and on the need for 'a better consciousness of the implicit ideologies underlying the application of communication to education.'³² A

rapporteur at the same conference summed up discussion with the aphorism 'if you cannot count it, it doesn't count - if you can count it, it's not it.'³³ Some fundamental questions raised at the conclusion of that conference showed how little progress had been made since Groombridge raised similar questions a decade earlier:

1. What do we know about media alternatives? Should we in a particular case use the broadcast media or not? Alone or with print media backing? How should face-to-face instruction relate?
2. What are the appropriate methodologies for particular research and evaluation purposes? Anthropological? Case study? Survey or Experimental? Illuminative evaluation? Formative or summative? What is the place of 'quick and dirty' methods?³⁴

It is noteworthy that the comparative method does not receive mention here and that at this major conference only one example of its use was to be found amongst the papers. The explicit calls (by McAnany³⁵ and Dieuzeide³⁶) for the sort of cross-cultural approach only possible through this method, would seem to support the argument that a not unimportant feature of the conclusions of this study must be that of evaluating the comparative method itself as a possibly appropriate one for shedding light on some of these key questions left unanswered by other methods. Some key studies will now be reviewed which, while not using a comparative approach, cover one or more of the principal groups of topics which must be included in an inclusive comparison such as this one. These are:

1. Matters of underlying ideologies and aims, policy and organisation.
2. Matters of utilisation and student learning.
3. Matters of evaluation and the evaluation and research process.

RESEARCH INTO IDEOLOGIES AND AIMS, POLICY AND ORGANISATION

The value of explicit examination of the ideological basis of broadcasting and education has been referred to in the work of Arnove, with particular reference to developing countries suffering from the 'cultural imperialism' of well intentioned expatriate advisers imposing unsuitable foreign material in the course of development work. A rare example of the value of this approach in a more advanced system, is a study by Faris of developments in Canadian adult education and broadcasting during the fruitful years of the 1930s and '40s.³⁷ 'The Passionate Educators' though not a comparative study is exemplary in its comprehensive historical, ideological and organisational survey of the development of the influential Farm Forum and Citizens' Forum. It demonstrates clearly the necessity for including those approaches as well as the more usual evaluative educational methodologies in dealing with this area. Even in isolation, adult education and broadcasting frequently become ideological battlegrounds. When they are used together, as they were during these years in Canada, to spearhead a particular social movement, the importance of this approach becomes paramount. The study underlines in particular the need to explain the dynamics of the system under consideration, which the frequently used technique of merely taking a cross-section in time for analysis by institution, curriculum, teaching methods etc does not accomplish, thereby falling short both in explanation and predictive power.

The shortcomings of 'The Passionate Educators' lie in other directions - above all in its failure to analyse in any systematic way the more obviously educational factors such as those just mentioned which are necessary to understand fully the rise, accomplishments and later decline of the Canadian 'Forum' series, together with the social and

educational movements which they led. The other serious shortcoming is the lack of any sustained discussion of Canadian broadcasting, outwith its specific relationships with the Canadian Association for Adult Education and other bodies involved in the Forum series. The continuing salience of broadcasting as an ideological shuttlecock in Canada is shown by a more recent paper by Lamy and Daniel on the political evaluation of educational broadcasting.³⁸

Studies of particular adult education broadcasting projects may on occasion cover the whole area from the original planning, through the collaborative process of production and utilisation of all the required resources to the impact on students and the results in learning terms. Two studies of the British Adult Literacy scheme of 1975-77 cover a great deal of this ground between them in a unique way, one focusing mainly on the role of the broadcasters in initiating the project³⁹ the other covering in greater detail its impact on organisers, tutors and students.⁴⁰ Hargreaves sets out the aims of the broadcasters clearly. Unlike the situation in the Third World, or even in Italy's 'non e mai troppo tarde' (never too late) project, where no particular social stigma was attached to illiteracy, BBC planners had to begin by facing a problem broadcasting had never attempted to address before on a large scale in an industrialised society. This was the problem of stigma and embarrassment faced by the possibly two million adults with problems of illiteracy or semi-literacy. In this situation, it was decided from the beginning to set only very modest instructional aims for the actual broadcasts. They were to concentrate rather on:

1. Contacting and mobilising students; and
2. Reducing anxiety and stigma.

They would use peak viewing time for the first television series launching the project - 'On the Move' - with the aim of contacting non-readers concealed in the general audience. In addition they would persuade general programming colleagues of the need for co-operation and 're-stating the messages in their own style . . . in their "by-audience" programmes and series'.⁴¹ Not the least important basic policy decision of the BBC was their considerable financial commitment to the project - some £750,000 over a period of three years - as well as their efforts in raising funds elsewhere for tuition, research and other related activities.

In his summing-up of lessons to be learned from this ambitious and, on the whole successful project, (some 125,000 students are known to have been helped by it) Hargreaves once again concentrates on key policy issues:

1. While the overt emphasis of the project on illiteracy was justified, adult basic education should thereafter be 'normalised' in broadcasting output, as further programming speaking of such difficulties in urgent, emotional terms, could be counter-productive.
2. More generally, the overall success of the project should make broadcasters face up to the potential of their medium in helping solve major social problems - but only by working 'in collaboration with the widest possible range of agencies in society'.⁴²

The National Institute of Adult Education Report was concerned with the whole range of motivational and instructional resources employed in the scheme and differed somewhat in its perception of the role of broadcasting in it. It found in fact little systematic use made of the

wide range of broadcasting resources available for actual instruction. Even in the area of recruitment where broadcasting was widely recognised as valuable, it was usually the broadcast media in general which were seen to be high in the perception of tutors and students alike, rather than 'On the Move' and its successors on radio and television specifically. Furthermore, 'recruitment . . . was an interaction of local pressures and national information',⁴³ rather than a result of broadcasting by itself, which was perhaps most important in breaking down feelings of isolation. The notion of two million others with the same problem seemed to inspire new hope.

As Bates points out,⁴⁴ the method chosen for the NIAE research relied almost entirely on evidence from group, or one-to-one tutorials and on interviews with the tutors and students involved. It is therefore not too surprising that the comments they obtained related mainly to interpersonal methods. It was nevertheless true as he continues that:

1. The project would almost certainly never have been started without the BBC effort.
2. The broadcasting undoubtedly stimulated recruitment.
3. The print materials produced to accompany the various series were unique at the time and even if they did not meet all needs, provided models suitable for local adaptation.

While interesting in themselves, the main point of the various conclusions arising from these research projects for our present purposes is to note the range of input necessary to provide a significant critical view of the entire scheme and its outcome:

data regarding BBC aims and policy decisions;

data regarding the collaborative process they initiated;

data about programme production, evaluation and transmission and

about supporting print materials;

data from interviews with organisers, tutors and students.

The difficulties involved for any one researcher undertaking a study of this scope are obvious. Once again the point made at the beginning of this Chapter by Charters about the dependence of the comparativist on reliable secondary sources is underlined.

ROLES AND FUNCTIONS OF ADULT EDUCATION BROADCASTING

One important area relevant to the aims of this study has been touched on only incidentally in the various studies discussed above. That is the definition of the possible roles for adult education broadcasting in any given national system. Arnove⁴⁵ and Schramm⁴⁶ suggested important principles which should guide planning and policy making in this matter. The former's summary of these principles deserves repetition here:

Ideally, utilisation of technologies such as ETV should form part of an education plan reflecting overall national development goals. This set of ideal conditions presupposes that:

1. a national development strategy or ideology - for example, what kind of person in what type of society - exists, stipulating development goals and steps required to reach targets;
2. the role of different types of education programs in development processes has been defined; and
3. the part ETV can play in enhancing the overall performance and contribution of the education system to development has been carefully conceptualised.

Most attempts to move from such general principles to an actual listing of such roles and contributions appear to be somewhat random in nature

and to relate either to specific project areas such as adult literacy; or to more academically defined subjects such as student learning, or the attributes of different media or media combinations. Bates⁴⁷ offers a more convincing overview of what he calls 'strategic roles for television and radio' and uses this as the structure for his comprehensive analysis of educational broadcasting. This overview of the field, shown below, employed together with the sort of analysis of social aims and purpose implied by Arnove would appear to constitute a suitable framework for the description and analysis required for a study such as this.

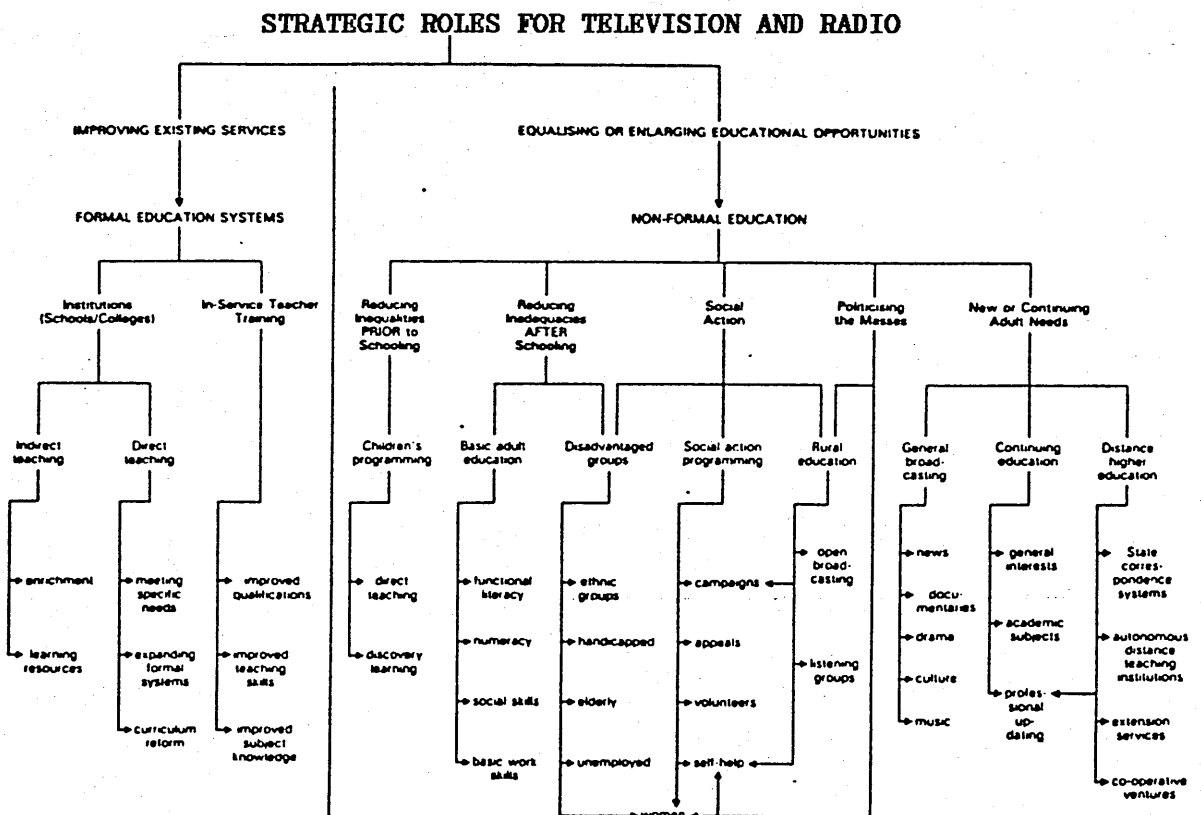


Fig 2.2 Overview of Strategic Roles for TV and Radio⁴⁸

RESEARCH INTO UTILISATION AND STUDENT LEARNING

The study of student populations and the evaluation of broadcast components in their courses is, if not particularly straightforward, at

least a relatively manageable problem. The study of audiences for educative or informally educational broadcasts however is a much more complex matter; and the broader issues of how to help undifferentiated audiences become students are hardly ever studied at all. One common approach to audience research in this area is through the study of needs and interests. An interesting alternative approach was used in the Ontario Educational Communications Authority survey of 'obstacles to learning' and the most effective roles of the broadcast media in overcoming these obstacles amongst adult learners with the aim of defining "the specific contribution which educational broadcasting . . . can make in an area which is possibly one of the most media-saturated areas in the world".⁴⁹

Joseph Trenaman's monumental survey for the BBC⁵⁰ considered these approaches as well as linking broadcasting methods and uses to the ability of different sections of the mass audience to benefit from different types of programme.

The objectives of this ambitious study were:

1. the classification of undifferentiated audiences for the mass media; and
2. the discovery of qualities within typical radio and television programmes which make for effective communication with these audiences.

His method consisted chiefly in a series of 'impact' studies carried out on carefully selected groups in a controlled environment and designed to elicit both factors in the recipient and factors in the message, which lead to successful communication and learning. His experiments took

into account the varying impact on different educational and occupational groups of different media (or combinations of media) and also of varying methods within each medium: eg the straight lecture, or the dramatised approach.

There seems little doubt that the results justified this large and expensive project. While it was perhaps not surprising to learn that the professional and highly skilled audience was most responsive to straightforward talks and discussions, the findings with regard to other groups have only begun to be explored in terms of their influence on broadcasting policy and on further research. Skilled workers, his report claimed, found some degree of abstraction possible, but 'personifications' and some element of dramatisation were more effective. With semi-skilled and unskilled workers, the elements of dramatisation and personification become all-important; but by the use of such methods "it is possible to communicate difficult and possibly unwelcome ideas to an audience which would otherwise be unlikely to seek out such information for themselves."⁵¹

Matsui's later studies for TV Ontario, on the whole reinforced Trenaman's categorisation of learner aptitudes. As paraphrased by Bates, Matsui's categories were:

1. The basically 'not interested' in possibilities of learning education through the mass media. These probably constituted the majority of the audience.
2. The 'structured learners' - some 15% of the audience, interested only in learning which leads to formal qualifications.
3. The 'open learners' interested in learning about society and the world and generally in learning for its own sake.⁵²

It is perhaps understandable, that more recent research projects have favoured the more specific 'needs and interests' approach. Such research is funded mainly by broadcasting institutions, whose immediate needs are to plan programme schedules which will capture and hold audiences. Three of the best known of such studies display interesting contrasts in method. A BBC study⁵³ was based on 'observed' needs as assessed through the advice of adult educators, while one carried out for Independent Television⁵⁴ was based on 'felt' needs gathered directly from samples of viewers. As Dannheisser and Haldane of IBA comment, while making this distinction in their discussion⁵⁵ of their own project, the two studies were, because of this difference of method, usefully complementary.

The TELEAC Foundation survey begun in 1973 on the other hand⁵⁶ decided to focus on what people were actually doing in part-time study - and made another interesting innovation by employing a research bureau to carry out this initial part of their survey on a money-saving multi-client basis. The next step in this long-range TELEAC project will provide a link methodologically, with the OECA survey referred to above, in proceeding to examine obstacles to learning.

There are clearly important pointers in all of these reports for a comparative study such as this. It is of obvious importance to relate the abilities, needs, interests and actual educational activities of a carefully differentiated audience (or series of audiences) to the actual and possible roles of radio and television in responding. But as Professor Ana Krajnc has pointed out (with reference to adult education generally) factors such as interest or ability on the one hand, and educational opportunity on the other, never seem to explain.

satisfactorily the immensely varied reaction of individuals to their circumstances. Educational values, she has suggested, are often of greater importance in predicting and understanding these reactions than either ability or the socio-cultural environment. Her study⁵⁷ showed significant differences between Canada, the USA and Yugoslavia with regard to respondents' perceptions of the contribution of various factors (education, hard work, 'good connection' etc) to upward social mobility. She makes the particularly interesting claim for a comparativist in this field, that in a society with more rigid social stratification, individuals at the bottom end of the social strata tend to be "psychologically locked out" of continuing education, no matter how rich the provision of facilities; while in a more open social atmosphere a "higher average level of educational values permeates the whole of the social order, more independently of social class and level of formal educational achievement. Members of such a society possess great potential for participation in continuing education, even where there is very little in the way of formally organised programs". For an innovative area in educational programme building such as broadcasting, and for a comparative study involving Eastern and Western societies in Europe, this is clearly an important concept.

The potential impact of increasing knowledge and concepts of this kind on adult education from broadcasting is considerable. There are however two principal ways in which policies and methods might be affected:

1. Programmes can become more precisely targetted on a particular section of the audience.
2. The varied impact of any one programme or series on different types of learner can be taken account of in follow-up activities.

This is not an 'either or' for broadcasting policy. In practice, both approaches are used simultaneously - the second probably less widely than it could be. Bates has developed its implications with particular reference to two adult basic education projects - the Swedish 'Start' to teach English to adults with low educational qualifications and the BBC's 'What Right Have You Got' on various aspects of consumers' rights.⁵⁸ Both attracted viewers and listeners in roughly similar patterns - a large number simply viewing and listening, a smaller cohort buying print materials and possibly attending classes; and an even smaller group sitting the exams. Bates refers to this well-known pattern of educational commitment as the 'onion' phenomenon of educational broadcasting - the fully committed core group, another group who buy the book of the course, and the largest outer group who may follow most of the programme, but do not get involved in any related learning activities.

A particularly important feature of such findings for this study is that they help to clarify the distinction between its necessary 'educative' background and its primary focus on more committed and organised learning activities. Educational programmes, however serious their intent, and however precisely targetted their audience, invariably prove of interest to a wider audience and are very often used in a variety of ways not envisaged by educational producers. This turned out, as will be seen, to be a key issue in contrasting kinds of policy making both within the BRD and as between the BRD and DDR.

Collaboration and Multimedia or Open Learning Developments

There have been few general studies of these important topics, or of methods of approaching them. Existing studies such as those by

Hawkrige and Robinson⁵⁹, Hancock^{60, 61} or Schramm⁶² which discuss them, have been written in the main with reference to the rather special needs and opportunities of the Third World, though some important general issues are dealt with. Hawkrige and Robinson, are in no doubt that utilisation (in the sense of the optimally effective educational application of broadcast resources) and collaboration should be considered together, making 'a cardinal point . . . that the promotion of effective utilisation should always be attempted through schemes of collaboration between the broadcasting system and other educational agencies'. These schemes may involve adult education, community development or other agencies: or other media such as newspapers; or indeed other broadcast media or branches of the same medium (eg a popular channel being used to 'trail' a series on an educational channel). 'The great mistake in any case is to imagine that the promotion of the hoped for utilisation can either be undertaken entirely by the broadcasting system, or left entirely to external agencies.'⁶³ Hancock makes the further point about collaboration that while in the production process it is difficult in practice, it is all the more important to ensure collaboration at the policy making and programme planning stage also.⁶⁴

Hawkrige and Robinson reiterate on several occasions that utilisation more than any other operational area of educational broadcasting depends on local conditions. Because this study would seem to confirm that idea, it seems appropriate to postpone more general discussions of issues relating to utilisation and collaboration until the last Chapter, when they may be related to the specific systems under study. There are however some points that should be made at this stage about the rather

complex and varied pedagogic and other issues relating to multimedia systems or combinations as aspects of educational technology.

There are at least three different kinds of issue commonly discussed in relation to multimedia developments:

1. Economic;
2. Pedagogic; and
3. Organisational.

The third type of issue relates commonly to system-building and operation, and to problems of institutional and professional collaboration. These will be dealt with for reasons given below, in the final Chapter. But some general points should be made at this stage about the others.

ECONOMIC ISSUES

Perhaps the best way to understand the wide range of studies of this aspect of educational broadcasting as a resource within a multimedia system, is as a continuum with at one end the relatively unsophisticated approach based on the one popular idea of the potential economics of scale open to the broadcast media, where one speaker can reach an indefinitely large audience within his language-speaking area. At the other end would come the position of those who would argue that the advantages and disadvantages of all educational methods and techniques are extremely difficult, perhaps impossible, to express in terms of strict cost-effectiveness. In between lies the common contemporary position concerned with more pragmatic issues such as reducing costs (eg by collaborative ventures) or with relating available resources to socio-educational ends in the most rational way possible without pretending that the process can be an exact science.

Arguments regarding the more obvious economies of scale possible through the broadcast media have tended to be used in projects in developing countries, like the El Salvador Instructional Television System, or the Mexican Telesecundaria. The undoubted expense of introducing the El Salvador system for example was claimed by the evaluators to be offset by economies made possible by the pedagogically somewhat doubtful expedient of increasing class size and teacher hours.⁶⁵ In the Nicaraguan Radio Mathematics Project on the other hand it was felt a higher level of personal instruction was needed, making the system as a whole costly, but more educationally effective than previous mathematics teaching.⁶⁶ The few economists working in this area tend now like Jamison, Klees and Wells, to eschew the use of the term cost-effectiveness 'to describe the activities involved in modelling input-output relations in education. Experts in educational psychology, media research statistics, and organisational theory play a more central role'.⁶⁷ Schramm speaks in similar terms of three decision making vectors of which one is cost (an economic one), one media (ie using media studies methodology) and one task-based (using pedagogy).⁶⁸

One of the El Salvador evaluators, McAnany, has elsewhere⁶⁹ admitted the difficulties of applying a strict systems approach to education where the end-product is so much more in doubt than in, say, General Motors, commenting that 'Specific learning may be the least of it'. Klasek has made perhaps the most sophisticated attempt to relate goals, curricula and alternative media strategies to cost-benefit considerations in system planning and development, claiming that it should be possible eventually to make a statement such as '. . . strategy A, involving the use of TV at a cost of 250 dollars per student resulted in a Y mean increase in achievement, while strategy B, omitting the use of TV, cost

247 dollars per student but resulted in a Y-Z mean increase in achievement.⁷⁰ There are however fundamental problems in comparing alternative teaching media (discussed in the next section on evaluation) which must make Klasek's strategy an ultimately unconvincing one.

The other end of the continuum is represented by studies such as that by Cowlan and Foote on satellite applications where they claim ambiguously, 'technologies such as this represent an addition to educational costs . . . (the value of which) must be judged by the increased benefits it supplies',⁷¹ or by Moore on a CCTV cost-benefit experiment: 'Cost benefits may be attributed in a specific application but the major advantages appear to be . . . in the flexibility afforded to the students enrolled and in the number of students admitted for study'.⁷²

The majority of studies in this area now seem to occupy the middle ground, often adopting the approach suggested by Hooper in an address where he said we should get as clear as possible an idea about costs in one column and benefits in the other 'without making many claims about casual links one to the other'.⁷³ Ultimately as MacIntosh comments, the real value of studies in this area lies in the power to predict in advance the likely costs and effectiveness of a particular multimedia mix for different courses, course populations etc.⁷⁴ Much of the most useful recent work is indeed aimed - like the cost comparison by Bates for example of audio media for different situations and conditions⁷⁵ at helping just this kind of decision making and planning.

PEDAGOGIC ISSUES

When broadcasters discuss multimedia issues in education they are usually thinking of ways of supporting the structurally dominant

broadcast resources by other appropriate media or support systems. Educationists based in conventional institutions on the other hand usually think of multimedia applications as supporting their teacher-centred curricula. Those involved with Open, Distance or Independent learning systems may have a better working rationale of applications in their own situation: but no really satisfactory pedagogic model has emerged which clarifies either the internal relationships of the various components within a multimedia system or that of the total system to the field in which it is applied. This is not the place to seek to establish such a rationale or even to review in any comprehensive way the considerable literature (particularly on Distance Learning methodology) which touches on the subject. But some fundamental issues need to be clarified for the purpose of this study.

The theoretical problem is in some ways less difficult for distance learning theorists than for conventional educationists on the one hand, or broadcasters on the other. Moore for example has provided a possible typology of distance learning and teaching methods which includes instructional radio and television.⁷⁶

He has graded methods in the two dimensions of:

1. Apartness - on a high-dialogue - low-dialogue scale; and
2. Learner Autonomy.

The latter is clearly a useful concept for learning systems using broadcasting, which commonly contain elements high on this scale, eg a recording of a broadcast, together with related print or other materials. There may also commonly be elements lower in learner autonomy such as optional tutorials or written work, or very low-autonomy methods involving external assessment of progress. The

notion of 'apartness' on the other hand seems a somewhat blunt instrument at least as far as the mass media in education are concerned. It seems difficult to distinguish between any of them as media in terms of relative lowness of dialogue. Newspapers, radio and television are frequently not just low-dialogue but no-dialogue media. They may all equally employ modest elements of dialogue in the shape of phone-ins, or letters to the editor. Even on the high-dialogue side of the rather sharp dividing line, it seems difficult in practice to grade for example, face-to-face tutorials, conference calls or correspondence tuition as methods. All are susceptible to being used in a high-dialogue or low-dialogue way. It is in other words what goes on inside the framework of the method that may be relatively high or low in this respect rather than the method itself. Another problem is that most of the elements on this scale (eg telephone, radio etc) are more strictly speaking techniques, rather than methods. The low-dialogue lecture method for example may be used across the entire range of techniques on the scale, while the high-dialogue discussion method may be used across a wide if not equally wide range.

Moore was of course concerned with the needs of analysing distance learning systems rather than the wider needs of varieties of multimedia system. Schramm was attempting to do this in his study referred to in the last section, though for the purposes of decision making rather than academic precision. His model of decision making vectors however, sheds considerable light on the area and makes a start at least on the task of distinguishing between media with regard to their pedagogic effectiveness. He points out for example how radio 'often does an almost equivalent job to TV at a fifth of the cost . . . Effectiveness depends as much on the way the medium is used.'⁷⁷ Schramm's model

however would be less suitable for handling the complexity of decision making in developed countries, where a large number of institutions may be involved, often with their own entrenched positions and interests.

What is required then is a multimedia typology which takes account:

1. of the diversity of the resource - eg from a formal radio lecture by a Funkkolleg professor to an ecology field-study on television made by the BBC for Open University students;
2. of the diversity of delivery methods - eg from satellite to reusable audio tape; and
3. of the diversity of the field of application - eg from registered 'Telekolleg' students to a project to motivate illiterate adults to seek help in learning to read.

While the comprehensive account of this field remains to be written, there are of course many extremely helpful studies of discrete segments of the problem. Bates, for example, working mainly on student use of Open University materials, has suggested 33 specific contributions which broadcasting can make to an open/distance learning system.⁷⁸ These have been helpfully reduced by Robinson to four broad classes of use.⁷⁹

1. Demonstration (eg of a scientific experiment).
2. Motivation.
3. Personalisation; and
4. Pacing.

The Open University has produced an alternative condensation for the uses of television only for a Study Skills course, where the various

uses are related to types of learning activity before, during and after watching a programme (see Fig 2.3 below).

	BEFORE	DURING	AFTER
GROUP A Programmes that offer a particular experience eg The performance of a work A 'new' approach to a subject *An insight into another culture or community (Ex7)	Little or no preparation	Concentration - trying to absorb and enjoy as many of the visual and audio messages as possible	Discussion or note-taking after viewing
GROUP B Programmes that present an illustrated lecture eg *A critical analysis (Ex3) *An experiment (Ex1) *A deduction process (Ex2)	Preparation - probably making sure you have done work in the related unit	Concentration - following and understanding an argument or a process	Follow-up work
GROUP C Programmes that provide ease study material eg *A field trip (Ex4) *A guided case study (Ex5) *An open-ended case study (Ex6)	Preparation - making sure you understand the concept or theories which are to be illustrated by the case study	Concentration - following the links between the programme and the rest of the course or analysing the links for yourself	Discussion or note-taking after viewing
GROUP D Programmes that set a task eg A categorization task Participation in an experiment	Preparation - making sure you have ready any book or equipment you will need to use	Work on the programme <u>during</u> transmission	Possible analysis of work done during programme

* Indicates an exercise in the package you will find more explanation of the purposes of each kind of programme in the introductory briefing section of each exercise in this book.

Fig 2.3 The Educational Uses of TV Related to Types of Student Activity
 (From 'Learning from Television', The Open University, Milton Keynes, 1981)

This is perhaps a more useful model for the purposes of multimedia system design - though of course it still needs to be related to radio; and the inter-relations of TV with radio and of both with other media are still only beginning to be explained satisfactorily even for the purposes of a highly integrated system like the Open University - hardly at all for the majority of more loosely constructed systems. on these latter types of system Robinson states 'there is a direct relation between the optimum integration of the learning components (in an open learning system) and the initial motivation of the learners we seek to

reach . . . the clearer the motivation . . . the more integrated and complex the learning components can be. With learners whose motivation is less clear . . . or who are less confident or less capable of independent study, the components will need to be less mutually interdependent, so that any one of them can help the learner along, while each new element will lend further support.⁸⁰ The decision of the Dutch Open School to use broadcasting deliberately on a 'moving staircase' model where each week's programme is designed to stand alone and students can step on and off the series as they choose, is a more extreme extension of this idea. It resulted from their disappointment with a pilot using an integrated approach which showed student use of broadcasts to vary from week to week according to their tastes and interests at that part of the course.⁸¹ Both of these approaches to multimedia integration recognise the importance of learner autonomy. Robinson however seems to equate lower degrees of integration with students being 'less capable of independent study', whereas Dutch Open School policy appears simply to be recognising the variety of adult needs and interests. British Open University experience could be said to comprehend both of these approaches to integration. The cost of the broadcast component of their courses has caused a gradual move towards the closest possible integration with other study materials. It is also widely recognised within the University however that students have always been highly selective in their use of all learning materials and that success seems to bear little relation to their use of broadcasting.

Hancock adopts a more rigorous approach to this issue, finding greater effectiveness in the more highly co-ordinated media systems in secondary, higher and formal adult education, as compared with the general lack of organised learning support structures in non-formal

adult education. He is more rigorous also in writing in terms of 'functions' and 'applications' rather than of 'contribution' or 'use'. Hancock discusses the relations between radio and TV in terms of mutual reinforcement, and then quotes an interesting example of the process of relating national goals and objectives in an actual development project to media strategies. This takes into account functions, applications and costs and illustrates the value of the kind of approach suggested by Schramm's 'vectors for decision making, at least for planning in the Third World.⁸²

Ambitious if ultimately unconvincing attempts to trace more comprehensive links between media attributes and learner traits have been made by Salomon⁸³, Heidt⁸⁴ and others. Salomon provides helpful insight into the connection between the idea of 'depth' in learning and particular media. He demonstrates that depth is a function mainly of the amount of involved mental effort (for which he uses the acronym 'AIME') in selecting, interpreting and reacting to, perceptions of all kinds. While a particular medium such as television, may often treat a subject in a shallow way this does not therefore mean it is a shallow medium. Because reading requires more effort in drawing on the reader's own memory, imagination etc, print may as a medium encourage more in-depth learning. However, Salomon quotes various experiments to show that, with appropriate tuition, students can learn to make almost equally effective use of other media such as television. He summarises the connection between the two media in this respect thus: while 'the floor of AIME is higher for reading, the ceiling can be the same for both'.⁸⁵ He also develops a theory of how learning from the media actually works in terms of 'supplantation' of a particular learning process by an appropriate media learning resource.

Heidt reviews comprehensively recent work in this area and traces some progress in distinguishing three clusters of learner traits which are likely to affect the individual learner in his use of, or openness to, the various media:

1. Special intellectual abilities (eg semantics, memory etc).
2. Cognitive styles (preference systems acquired during individual mental development eg 'wholist' or serialist approaches to learning).
3. Personality characteristics (eg introvert-extrovert, achievement motivated etc).

He concludes that while there is no single list or matrix in which each of these categories could be linked to a particular media attribute, it is becoming more possible to think in terms of a procedure 'for identifying functional media attributes with respect to a particular learning task and to a specific learner.'⁸⁶ Using Salomon's concept of supplantation, the procedure would begin by deciding on the nature and amount (or detail) of supplantation required for the particular learning process concerned. On this basis, functional media attributes can be specified, relevant first of all to the particular learning tasks; and then modified so as to optimise conditions for a successful learning outcome, where possible taking into account possible individual differences in the learners.

In practice, it might be argued that this approach differs little from the much more pragmatic approach of Bates. Commenting that there is in fact 'no adequate existing theory of media selection' he goes on to say that 'the appropriateness of a specific medium can be judged only in the specific context in which that medium will be used.'⁸⁷ It is specifically evaluative research on this basis which has led to the

conclusions or guidelines of Bates and Robinson about distinct media functions referred to above.

THE EVALUATION OF EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTS

It is in fact partly upon the results of such evaluative research that the broader conclusions of a comparative study such as this must be based. It is worth commenting finally therefore upon some general features of such research and the way it is carried out, in concluding this review of previous research relevant to this study. Evaluation in this area appears to vary in its methods and procedures along three different continua:

1. The methodological one described by Parlett and Hamilton⁸² in terms of the 'agricultural-botany' paradigm, versus illuminative evaluation;
2. Formative versus summative evaluation; and
3. In-house versus external evaluation.

The greatest shortcoming in this area of research has probably arisen from attempts to be 'scientific' (in the sense used by Parlett and Hamilton), by too great a reliance on narrow 'before and after' studies of the learning effects of specific programmes without taking into account the overall context of the learning situation. Particularly misleading, as Bates has pointed out,⁸⁹ is the 'alternative teaching media' approach where the same material is taught through different media and learning effectiveness in different groups assessed. Apart from the difficulty of completely controlling all the variables, it is necessary, as he says, to remove all the potential advantages from radio or television in order to set up such an experiment. For the sort of conclusion this approach can lead to, an experiment described by

Krugman⁷⁰ is perhaps extreme in its conclusions but not untypical. Students had been exposed to a message via a number of different combinations of media - sound with vision, sound without vision, vision without sound etc.

The most effective learning was found to take place on audio with unrelated video. This narrow sort of performance testing is probably less common today, but little more than a start has been made on the development of a more adequate and helpful illuminative approach, directed towards the aim of improving the use of the broadcast media as generally acceptable educational resources.

The second continuum suggested (formative versus summative approaches) does not perhaps state an essentially 'either or' contrast in style of evaluation. Some of the best examples of evaluative studies indeed use both approaches. There are nevertheless certain clear cases where one or the other approach may be most useful, as Robinson and Barnes have shown. Formative evaluation can help to shape the learning material actually offered, and is "particularly useful where little is known about the intended audience's response, emotional as well as intellectual . . . such research, therefore, tends to get carried out in innovative situations".⁷¹ Summative evaluation on the other hand, is based on what actually happened to the finished product in use, and is useful where the results can provide feedback for future materials or courses with similar aims and objectives - for example with regard to regularly rewritten courses such as those of the Open University, or of BBC popular language teaching courses.

A third major element to be noted in any comparative description of evaluative methodology must be the institutional context. Is the evaluation in-house, entirely independent, or (the more usual situation) somewhere in between eg an independent body commissioned by the broadcasting institution, or a collaborative venture involving a joint approach by two or more bodies in production, presentation or evaluation or all three? The most valuable projects appear increasingly to be of the latter kind, eg the Brighton Polytechnic/BBC evaluation of the German language series 'Kontakte',⁹² or the Open University/BBC evaluation of selected series, chosen to represent differing uses of radio and television as components of a multimedia system.⁹³ Such close involvement of policy making, production and research staff at all stages of the planning of an evaluation project or system would appear to avoid the dangers on the one hand of the 'cosiness' of the purely in-house system; or on the other of the institutional defensiveness often produced by entirely independent external evaluation. The close identification in Open University programme evaluation in particular, with the course team requirements for feedback of both short-term (ie course improvement) and long-term (ie course rewrite) value, would appear to provide an excellent model on which to base future development.

CONCLUSIONS FOR THE PRESENT STUDY

What does the above research offer by way of overall guidelines or specific models and methodologies for this study? Only that by Groombridge, the Council of Europe, and Glickmann and Corduant are directly comparable in being, at least to some extent concerned with the entire process of adult education broadcasting in the context of more developed societies, from overall aims and policy making, to utilisation and evaluation at the reception end. Only the Council of Europe report

offers an explicit outline of the process of data collection and analysis used. However, it seems evident that behind the above more relevant research must lie a process of data collection and analysis closely resembling that given below.

STAGES OF DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS REQUIRED FOR THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ADULT EDUCATION AND BROADCASTING

1. Analysis of the IDEOLOGICAL foundations of policy making in the countries concerned is required, based on study of the relevant HISTORICAL and other background, and lead to:
2. Analysis of the resulting EDUCATIONAL/BROADCASTING CONCEPTS AND PHILOSOPHIES; and of
3. The consequent AIMS, POLICIES and the POLICY MAKING PROCESS; following which
4. SYSTEMS/INSTITUTIONAL analysis is required, including analysis of COLLABORATIVE STRUCTURES; and
5. The PRODUCTION PROCESS;
6. Analysis of the GENERAL PROGRAMMING and EDUCATIVE output from the above processes should then follow as a background to;
7. Analysis of specifically EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMMING in terms of:

CONTENT
and
METHODS
8. Also where appropriate of LEARNERS of various kinds, as a background to the examination of STUDENTS using these resources;
9. Analysis of the UTILISATION of broadcast material should then follow, including where relevant analysis of the SYSTEM within which it is used, including MULTIMEDIA usage; and finally analysis of
10. EVALUATION, RESEARCH and of the EVALUATION/RESEARCH PROCESS.

This process can never be neatly sequential. Data gathered at each stage must in practice be fed back to modify previous conclusions. Questions of collaboration and the multimedia approach to utilisation in particular overlap considerably with each other and with other factors. A better tabulation of the actual process of comparative study followed would be that shown in Fig 2.4 below.

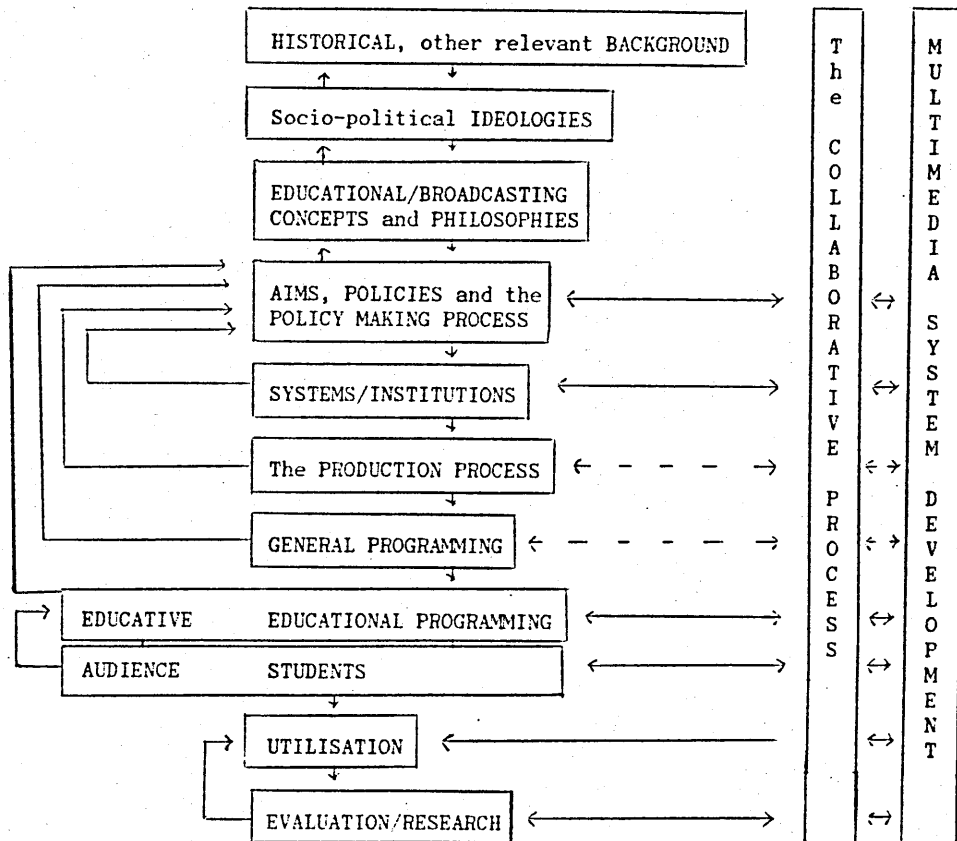


Fig 2.4 The process of analysis in the comparative study of adult education and broadcasting

Methodologically then it is clear that only the three directly comparable studies offer a model for the present one, and the research process described in the concluding section of this Chapter adopts broad survey methods appropriate to the general aim of making a comparison across the various areas outlined in Fig 2.4. Much of the other research described however is conceptually valuable for the analytical part of the study. The following appear particularly important.

1. Arnove's summary of the need for clear conceptualisation of overall development goals in the use of the broadcast media for education emphasises much of what Schramm had laid down by way of basic principles for decision making. The latter's stress in particular on using the media to solve significant problems, not just because they are there, seems fundamental to any discussion of broad national goals or achievements in adult education broadcasting.
2. Bates' summary of 'strategic roles' for the broadcast media is likewise a useful analytical tool for a comparative study such as this.
3. The contrast between the pedagogic concepts of the 'moving staircase' approach of the Dutch Open School to multimedia education and the more rigorous approach of Hancock, assuming the need for full integration of learning resources for maximum effect, constitutes a significant continuum of possible approaches to the use of broadcasting in adult education.
4. Hawkrige, Robinson and Hancock make significant points about the importance of collaboration between the broadcasting and educational agencies which appear likely to be of central importance for their study. The latter, admits the difficulties involved in collaboration but points out that it is therefore all the more important to ensure collaboration at the policy making and planning stages.

Of the other research surveyed, Trenaman's major enquiry into the impact and utilisation of adult education broadcasting, together with the follow-up work in related areas by Hargreaves, Matsui and others seems essential background knowledge for a study such as this. The more narrowly focused pedagogic studies of Salomon, Heidt and Moore, like

the economic studies of Jamison and others were of some background interest but less likely to be made specific use of in this study than the other areas of research surveyed.

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CHAPTER THREE

THE CONDUCT OF THE STUDY

The list of relevant data for a study of this kind could of course profitably employ a team with the major resources of the Council of Europe project described above. The very different nature of the data collection open to an individual researcher inevitably means a less ambitious project, dependent on reliable secondary sources for much of its evidence. However, as argued by Dieuzeide and others the need for the particular illumination provided by this method is so pressing that such a study, however curtailed in its scope, seems fully justified and worthwhile. A brief comment on its overall plan may be helpful before proceeding to describe the data collection procedures and methods actually employed in detail.

The next two Chapters compare the different ways education and broadcasting in the two Germanies have developed from their common origins since the division of Germany in 1945. These provide the necessary foundation for proceeding, in Chapter Six, to describe the general information and 'educative' output in each country. The purpose of this Chapter, like the two preceding, should be seen as necessary if somewhat lengthy context-setting. It should not be seen as an attempt to take up in any profound sense, issues properly the concern of media studies. Chapters Seven and Eight dealing respectively with DDR and BRD adult education broadcasting constitute the essential core of the study. In the course of collecting data for these key Chapters, it became clear that the issue of collaboration between broadcasters and adult educators was going to be central to the findings of the study. Broadcast resources by themselves may well be of great value in the area of casual

or informal learning. They are however difficult to evaluate except in the context of rare and ambitious research programmes such as that of Trenaman, for example. Adult educators by themselves can be more efficient in helping learners to utilise effectively media products of all kinds, but are extremely handicapped when they are underinformed about transmission and other details and have no input to planning and production processes or to the creation of related print and other materials. Methods and structures of collaboration constitute an important focus of these Chapters therefore as, naturally, of Chapter Eight which undertakes the comparative analysis.

Determination of the content and operation of adult education then, together with the collaborative processes involved in their planning, production and utilisation constituted the major objective of the data collection process, after the general background reading, viewing and listening required for the introductory Chapters was complete. An adequate picture was required of a range of activity, from policy making and planning, through the production process, to the eventual output, described both in terms of content and delivery methods. Methods of utilisation including support systems for students as also systems of research, evaluation and feedback into the production process were equally relevant. The procedures and methods used to assemble an adequate picture of this broad range of educational activity within the limited resources available are outlined below.

The Process of Data Collection and Analysis

A great deal of background information is necessary if one is to draw meaningful general conclusions about such topics as ideology and its effects, about broadcasting and educational structures, collaborative

processes and the other subjects discussed above. For that reason a comparative study of this kind must begin with a comprehensive survey of background and introductory material. Apart from the many secondary sources listed in the Bibliography, the following materials were used, first of all for the background study presented in the following three Chapters. They were also a major source of the data for the central part of the study presented in Chapters Seven and Eight:

1. Annual Reports of the BRD broadcasting companies.
2. Occasional thematic reports and information releases from the same sources and also from the DDR 'Panorama' information service.
3. Regular publications from the BRD companies, HR, NDR and ZDF and from 'Urania' in the DDR concentrating on cultural or educational programming.
4. Weekly programme information journals, particularly 'Hör Zu' for the BRD and 'FF Dabei' for the DDR.
5. This use of print material was accompanied by listening to and viewing all types of educational programming from both sides of the border, during regular visits made to Germany during the period of the study (see below).
6. A wide collection of support material for educational broadcasts was also made during visits to the various broadcasting and adult education organisations and, where relevant, analysed for purposes of the study.

The first two types of material were received on a regular basis from the BRD broadcasting organisation - from the co-ordinating body and two of the Land companies contributing to the First Channel and from Second German Television - over the period 1975-1982, the main period of data collection. Viewing and listening was carried out over that same

period, in the main, from a base in the Lübeck area (Travemünde). The choice of this area was coincidental on having a local (German) family connection there. However it proved particularly well suited to the purposes of the study, because of its nearness to the DDR border and consequent excellent reception of DDR radio and television. The family involved were furthermore originally from East Germany, providing another important if informal source of background information and opinion. Another advantage of the area was the fact that it falls within the catchment area of the North German Broadcasting Company (NDR). It proved a suitable choice amongst the various Land companies for special study being a considerable provider of considered educational output. Less innovative than the two leading providers in Hesse and Bavaria, it was nevertheless much more ambitious than the other six contributors to the First and Third Channel networks. While not typical therefore, in as much as no one company could possibly be so described given the immense regional variety amongst the Länder and their broadcasting systems, NDR turned out to be reasonably representative for monitoring purposes. If it is inappropriate to speak of it as typical or 'average', it could nevertheless be described as 'median' in status amongst the BRD locally based broadcasting organisations.

The process of data collection outlined above took place during, or as a result of, contacts made in the course of the following visits, carried out during the period of of this study:

1974 UNESCO in Hamburg and Paris (interviews and library search; NDR in

Hamburg (interviews and establishment of regular reception of support literature).

1976 Hesse Broadcasting in Frankfurt} (interviews and collecting
 Second German Television, Mainz} support materials)

- 1978 Intensive one week visit to DDR (detailed description in Appendix 3). Separate visit to Bavarian Broadcasting and other bodies in Munich (interviews, literature searches) and to Lübeck area (viewing and listening).
- 1980 Lübeck Folk High School (interviews, viewing and listening).
- 1982 Humlebaek, Denmark (Educational Broadcasting Conference), Lübeck area (viewing and listening).

As stated at the outset of this Chapter, much of the data for this study must be regarded as secondary. As Charters has commented in writing about resources for comparing adult education "To a large extent the quality of comparative studies is only as good as the local and national studies on which the comparison is made. . . the researcher must . . . strengthen or add to the basic evidence before making a comparative study"¹ It is in that light that the primary data gathered for this study must be viewed. It consisted of:

1. Interviews with key staff involved in adult education broadcasting production or utilisation;
2. Analysis of data about adult education broadcasting output gathered from programme information provided by the broadcasting organisations;
3. Selective viewing and listening of actual TV and radio programmes; and
4. The collection and review of support materials for these programmes.

It will be remembered that the principal areas defined in the previous Chapter as constituting essential data for a comparative study on this topic were as follows:

1. Historical and ideological foundations;
2. Resulting educational and broadcasting concepts and philosophies;
3. Consequent aims and policies and the policy making process;
4. The nature and operation of the institutions and collaborative systems involved in translating these policies into programmes;
5. The production process - including the production of print and other support materials as well as TV and radio programmes;
6. The nature of the general and educative programming background and its relationship to more specifically adult education output;
7. Adult education output itself - quantity, content and methods used;
8. The student clientele aimed at;
9. Methods of utilisation of broadcast and support materials;
10. The nature of evaluation and research (if any) and of the research and evaluation methods and systems employed.

Some of the methods employed were clearly more relevant to some areas than others. The first area, ideology, was dealt with by a combination of general background reading and eventual analysis in terms of ideologies revealed by all the other data. Areas two - five covering policies, systems and organisation were covered by a combination of analysis of various policy statements from the broadcasting companies (referred to explicitly throughout the text) and by interviews with key broadcasting staff. Areas six and seven on output involved chiefly the analysis of printed programme information material supported by selective viewing and listening to all DDR radio and TV channels, to the three radio and two TV channels of NDR, to ZDF TV, and finally to Deutsche Welle and Deutschlandfunk radio. Areas eight - ten involved a combination of analysis of a variety of secondary sources with interviews with adult education, broadcasting and research staff and the

analysis of study materials for students of radio or TV courses.

The Interviews

It follows from the above general guidelines that the principal focus of interest was somewhat different for the two main groups of staff interviewed. For the broadcasters, it was on policies and production, for the adult educationists on utilisation and evaluation/research activity. The key area of collaboration was of course of equal relevance to each group. Questions were also specific to each interviewee in that they were based on previous study of written policy papers where available, annual reports and usually also with prior viewing and listening of programmes. Areas two - ten nevertheless were covered in all interviews by at least one direct question eg: Areas 2 and 3: What in the view of your organisation are the key areas for adult education programming in terms of:

1. target groups;
2. level; and
3. subject area

of the courses or programmes?

Areas 4 and 5: How are these policies translated into the production and delivery of programme and support material? How many staff are involved? Does your organisation operate alone or in collaboration with other providers of adult education or broadcasting resources?

Areas 6, 7 and 8: What are the relationships between adult education and other programming? Is there a 'ghetto' channel or are there flexible links between channels, eg allowing promotion of adult education programmes on more popular channels or programmes? How are target groups identified and reached?

Area 9: Are support materials produced by the programme production team?

By other agencies? Or by a collaborative process? Are they available by enrolment? Or through bookshops etc? Or by a flexible variety of means depending on the level of commitment?

Area 10: What research and evaluation is carried out in this area? Is it provided by broadcasting, adult education or specialist research institutions?

This flexibly structured format proved an appropriate one in that it provided a systematic basis for the interviews, while encouraging individual interviewees to focus on their own activities without wasting time on general background. A full list of interviewees is given in Appendix 2. The value of the contacts made in the course of this part of the study was not of course confined to the data gathered at the time but often lay at least as much in later exchange of correspondence and in establishing sources of reports, student materials and regular programme information data.

Analysis of Printed Programme Information

It was of course of central importance to the study to obtain comparable data about actual broadcast output. As well as the strictly educational sector, it was necessary, for purposes of general context setting as well as more specifically because of the considerable differences in emphasis between the DDR and BRD, to place these data in a context of general output and particularly of the broadly educative output within the total. This was achieved with the aid of:

1. Secondary data from the variety of sources described above, for example annual reports, which provided for the BRD companies annual output figures by programming sector, useful as a fairly crude check on the more detailed content analysis required for purposes

of the study.

2. The analysis of weekly programme schedules, cross-checked by viewing and listening during visits to both countries, but with an emphasis for purposes of comparison on the week of the DDR visit - the - 23rd-30th June 1978. It was generally a suitable week in that regular schedules were still operating in both countries and had not given way to the more sport and entertainment oriented summer programming. That week alone would have been of clearly limited value however in presenting a comprehensive picture of the range and variety of programming offered in both Germanies. For that reason data gathered over the whole period of the study were also used to complement the picture presented in that particular week even though they are not as strictly comparable. Complementary data from the DDR were scarce and difficult to obtain. Even their weekly programme magazine 'FF Dabei' is most difficult to obtain in the West on a regular basis. In contrast, not only the equivalent weekly magazine 'Hör Zu' but a wealth of other written material was available on BRD programming. A much fuller and more reliable picture is therefore possible of output there.

Detailed references on sources are given throughout Chapters Five to Eight where this data was used for the construction of bar graphs and other figures. The process of collection and analysis may be summarised however as follows:

1. For the broad survey of general broadcasting output made in Chapter Five, the best available figures were taken for each country, covering the general period of the study from 1975-1982. In the case of the BRD these were taken from the ARD and ZDF Annual

Reports for 1980 which included full programme information in 000's of minutes by detailed programme categories which could readily be converted to the common broad categories used in Chapter Five, Figs 5.2 and 5.3. No such details on an annual basis were available for the DDR, though a 'Panorama' press release (Fig 5.5) offered a useful overview of changes in roughly equivalent programme categories over the period 1955-1972. For a more accurate comparison, analysis was made of DDR programming during the week of 26th June-2nd July 1978, using the same categories as in the BRD graphs. The programme information given in 'FF Dabei' was used for this purpose and the results multiplied by 52 for comparative purposes. While this meant of course far less satisfactory figures for DDR output it was the only solution possible in view of the difficulty of obtaining even published information such as 'FF Dabei' in the West. Statistics such as those found in the BRD reports either do not exist, or else are not generally available to Western enquirers, as was made clear during my visit to the DDR.

2. The more detailed figures on educative and educational programming in Chapters Six - Eight were the result chiefly of intensive analysis of 'Hör Zu' and 'FF Dabei' for 26th June-2nd July 1978. There were two stages to this analysis - first of all by broad programme category, for the overview of the place of documentaries and informal adult education in general output given in Fig 6.1, then by subject area for Figs 6.2 and 6.3. An even more detailed analysis was made of films and plays on television, by country of origin and by subject category (Fig 6.4). The raw figures for all these analyses are given in Appendix 5.

For the more strictly adult education area additional input was

provided by the use of two months output in the case of the BRD - January and August 1981. These were chosen as representing the broader spectrum of two adult education 'sessions' of BRD broadcasting. This was again not possible in the case of the DDR because of lack of access to 'FF Dabej'. Copies for the last two weeks of June 1981 were obtained by a colleague travelling in the DDR, and some comparison was therefore possible, however unsatisfactory in statistical terms. Details are once again provided in Appendix 5.

Viewing and Listening

Selective viewing and listening was made of general output as well as of adult education programmes from both sides of the border during all the visits listed above. Viewing of general output was made in a family context and was not therefore particularly methodical in nature. All major adult education series being transmitted during the times of my visits however were monitored - some 30 hours, or 50 programmes over the whole period.

The chief objective of this monitoring related closely to the focus of the study on the overall system of adult education broadcasting resources available in each country. This was simply to shed light on the place of broadcasts in those systems. Were they regarded by the producers as essential, or optional 'enrichment', elements in the courses? Did adult education users on the one hand, students on the other, accept these views of the function of the broadcasts? While these questions were of course raised in interviews and were also the subject of research projects discussed in Chapter Eight, it was clearly necessary to have an unmediated view on these matters through personal

viewing and listening. It would have been inappropriate to this study however to attempt a comprehensive and systematic study of the programmes in terms of techniques, methods, delivery systems, effectiveness for student learning, etc. Such a project would have been a major study in itself. It is in the light of these limited, system-related objectives therefore that the comments on the programmes must be seen.

Review of Support Materials

The above comments apply equally to the fourth kind of primary data gathered for the study. A systematic and critical analysis of the printed, or any other elements (such as broadcast resources) of an open learning system would constitute a major study in itself. The aim here was to help to establish the place of these materials in the learning systems of which they were a part. A collection of sample materials was therefore made to assist in this process as a check on the stated views - in course guides, those put forward by interviewees, in research reports and elsewhere. This material is listed in full in Appendix 6. Once again the overall objective was to assess the place of the materials in the systems - their relationship to broadcasts and to other elements in the systems such as correspondence or face-to-face tuition and also their 'essential' or 'optional' nature in relation to various possible learning outcomes.

An Overall Assessment of the Data - Gathering Process

In attempting to evaluate the above methods and procedures it is important to begin by re-emphasising the special nature of comparative as compared with other types of research. As Charters indicated in the quotation given above, the aims of the researcher must be to strengthen

the mass of secondary data on which the comparativist must rely by the collection of appropriate additional primary data, before going on to undertake his major analytical task. In this light, the data finally gathered from all sources for the BRD part of the study was adequate to provide a realistic picture of the field and to form therefore a basis for analysis in terms of the general aims of the study. There were many excellent descriptive accounts from the broadcasting and other organisations involved, of the various series and their relationship to other resources. These were fewer, but also excellent research reports in areas highly relevant to the study - chiefly on Telekolleg course activity. This secondary data is all fully documented and discussed in Chapter Eight. The primary data gathered to reinforce this material was based on readily available information on programming, on student materials and on frequent and readily arranged interviews with key staff.

The situation was clearly quite different with regard to DDR data. Virtually no research appeared to have been carried out in this area. Because of the extreme difficulty in arranging official visits and in obtaining even basic materials such as weekly programme schedules without actually visiting the country, the time-span covered by the research was virtually limited to one week's programming (though supplemented by regular viewing and listening from across the border). The extreme secrecy of the DDR state system made access to such statistics as might exist on programming, costs etc, unavailable generally to Western visitors. In spite of these obvious drawbacks the extreme personal helpfulness of colleagues met during my visit made it possible to obtain an overall view of some value, of activities in this field. One's confidence in the adequacy of this view is increased by the simple major fact which emerged clearly that there was a very low

emphasis placed on adult education broadcasting in the DDR. What exists, in other words, is modest in quantity and therefore relatively easy to survey.

There is in the end, however a clear imbalance in both quantity and quality of data as between the DDR and the BRD which must constitute a weakness in the study from a methodological point of view. It was an unavoidable weakness and one which did not ultimately detract from the attainment of the overall aims of the thesis, for the reason given above - the low emphasis on the subject of this study generally in the DDR. There is significance, as is argued at length in Chapter Nine, in the very absence of data in this case.

The problems of modifying data so variable in quantity and quality for comparative purposes were of course considerable. But by the methods outlined above and as described in detail in Chapters Seven and Eight and in the relevant appendices - for example establishing common subject areas for content analysis, or expressing some quantitative data in percentage terms - it was possible to draw meaningful conclusions about policies, programmes and the relevant educational systems in the two countries. The differences in the total quantity and range of output are important as are the other factors, such as secrecy which made the data gathering process difficult. The data appeared ultimately sufficient however to offer an adequate basis for answering the particular questions set as the aims for this thesis.

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

The Common Educational Heritage

It is a rough but useful generalisation to say that most education systems in Europe today have displayed in varying degrees three major driving forces behind their various plans for development:

1. The drive to educate for the needs of a changing economy;
2. The drive to educate for democratic citizenship and within a context of basic democratic rights of control and individual choice;
3. The drive towards what in German is called 'Chancengleichheit' - equality of educational opportunity.

It is also broadly true to say that in practice these aims often appear to be in competition or to take on different emphases in relation to each other. Certainly within the two Germanies, one important key to understanding the development of education since the war is an understanding of the relative importance given to these factors at different times during the past thirty years.

More specifically, the face of education in these two states today is a result of the imposition of two contrasting ideologies of education on a strong - and surviving - common tradition of an older, uniquely German, and strongly elitist character. During the Reformation, the main effects of both religious and classical Renaissance influences on education were seen, first in the improvement of the educational standards of the clergy, then of the professional and military classes.

Despite Luther's attempts to achieve widespread literacy in German, French remained well into the 18th Century the language of polite society and proficiency in French and Latin the main objectives of the school system.

The development of the Gymnasium (or Grammar) Schools during the 18th and 19th centuries was fitful in nature and saw continual attempts by educationists such as Basedow and others influenced by Froebbel and Pestalozzi, to wrench them away from their preoccupation with the 'respectability' of classical education and to introduce modern history, geography and science into the curriculum. It was in fact the less prestigious Mittelschulen or Realschulen, (Intermediate Schools), established towards the end of the 19th Century which began effectively to meet the needs of commerce and industry with their more strictly vocational curricula. The Gymnasium however held firmly on to the keys of university entrance well into the 20th Century.

For the masses there was by the late 19th Century widespread basic education of a strictly utilitarian nature, governed by the twin needs to combat the rising tide of socialism and provide the industrial workers and subordinate officials needed by the expanding economy. The success of this Elementary School System inspired mainly by succeeding Prussian Ministers of Education von Raumer and Falk, may be judged by the virtual elimination of illiteracy from Germany by the turn of the century. There was only .05% illiteracy there as compared with 1% in the UK and 4% in France. (The continuing effects of this situation were brought home to the writer by the reaction of DDR educationists to a description of the Adult Literacy campaign in Britain - not admiration at the inventive use of the mass media etc; but astonishment that it was

all necessary in the 1970s.) The Weimar Republic built on these solid foundations by formally establishing in 1920 compulsory universal education from the ages of 6 - 14 in a uniform type of elementary school - the Volksschule. This was to be followed by a further two or three years of part-time education in a vocational school (Berufsschule).

This system of Volksschule for the majority, Mittelschule for the few and the Gymnasium leading to Higher Education for an elite was not greatly altered in a structural sense during the brief period of National Socialist rule which followed. The entire ethos of the schools was however turned to National Socialist ends, with an extreme emphasis on physical fitness, a narrowly defined 'German' culture and an accompanying falling-off in academic standards. Any increase in 'Chancengleichheit' which may be traced during this time was strictly limited to political ends, and to the need to produce a cadre of 'pure' German youth subservient to the party, who would lead Germany into its Thousand Year Rule.

The Development of Adult Education

The result of this course of development was to give to education in Germany a pronounced class bias. For all except the wealthy and professional families, the idea of Gymnasium, Abitur and University seemed not only impracticable, but undesirable. As Hearnden notes 'the most noteworthy feature of this so-called 'Bildungsabstinenz' (abstaining from education) of the working class is the fact that its essential ingredient was indifference rather than resentment',¹ And the early growth of Adult Education in Germany reflected closely this rigid social structure of the rest of the education system, with little attempt to use education as a way of breaking through these class

barriers. This fact is all the more noteworthy for that early growth being almost entirely socialist in origin. The foundation of the Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeiterverein (the General German Workers' Society) by Ferdinand Lassalle in 1863 was soon followed by the proliferation of Arbeiterbildungsvereine (Workers' Cultural Societies). These were able to build on the well developed though narrow elementary school system a broad and flourishing if not rigorous programme of lectures and other cultural activities such as the Freie Volksbühne (Free People's Stage) in Berlin. A middle-class response to this activity followed in the creation in 1871 of the Gesellschaft für Volksbildung (Society for Adult Education) which had by 1910 7,000 affiliated organisations all over Germany, carrying out similar broad, but rather shallow programmes, though with a wide variety of contrasting political aims or sympathies.

It was on this already somewhat politicised system that two further influences were next brought to bear which were to give Adult Education in Germany its quite distinctive and overtly ideological character during the early 20th Century. These were:

1. the peculiarly mystic brand of nationalism which developed in Germany; and
2. the Volkshochschule movement.

German Nationalism and Educational Ideas

The strong connections between German nationalist aspirations and education go back to the famous course of lectures given by the philosopher J G Fichte in the Berlin Academy of Science in the winter of 1807-8. His 'Reden an die Deutsche Nation' were delivered at a time when Germany had just suffered total defeat the the hands of Napoleon,

and called for a new national system of education embracing all classes and sexes as the necessary way to moral and physical regeneration for his country. He was opposed to earlier ideas of free will in pupils, and advocated that the new education should 'establish strict necessity of its conclusions, and train the willpower of the pupils in such a way that any contrary conclusion becomes impossible'. This education, to include physical training as well as work of an industrial and agricultural character, should take place in school communities 'in which everyone is subordinated to the community and contributes through work and action to the welfare of all'.² He further argued that though all nations required such regeneration, Germans were more fitted than any other people to take a lead in its initiation, as the only civilised people in the world still living on their original native land and retaining their original language and culture. Though Fichte did not see this leadership in political terms, his ideas were obviously open to the more extreme forms of political nationalism and racialism of the Nazi period. Even liberal thinkers however, were led astray by such ideas to develop at the turn of the century certain quasi-mystical ideas about the 'Volksgemeinschaft' (community of the people), which were more widely influential than the wilder fringe of crudely racial theories and for that reason more misleading and harmful in the long run, as the course of adult education in the twenties and thirties illustrates.

The ideas of Robert von Erdberg well illustrate both the good and bad in the philosophy of adult education of this time. He was justifiably critical of the facile nature of most adult education in Germany at the turn of the century. In contrast with this 'verbreitende Volksbildung' as he called it (ie merely broadening education) he proposed the need for a 'gestaltende (or moulding) Volksbildung'. Instead of the mere

mechanical transmission of knowledge, education should help to mould personal life through the inward experience and the recognition of the emotive and subjective elements in human nature. So far, this was perhaps a healthy reaction to the 'Lernschule' approach to education.

His ideas were however closely connected in his mind with strongly nationalistic beliefs in the unique importance of the 'Volksgemeinschaft' and of the need to use adult education as a means of reclaiming German workers from socialism, and incorporating them in the folk community of the nation. His ideas received fullest expression in the Volkshochschulen (Folk High Schools) introduced in Germany in the early years of the new century.

The German Folk High School Movement in the Twenties and Thirties

The original Danish 'Folkehójskólen' were established in the 1860s to help Denmark recover from its military and political collapse by a regeneration of the nation which was to begin with the peasantry. In the rural population, Grundtvig, the founder of the movement, believed, lay the true source of the nation's strength which needed only awakening and shaping to play its full part in national recovery. It was this aspect of the Folk High Schools which particularly interested German educators in the period of even more complete breakdown of national life in Germany after the First World War. As head of adult education in Prussia in 1919, Erdberg issued a memorandum on the character and role of the Volkshochschulen which stated as their main aim "the creation of a common spiritual life embracing the whole nation". The Volkshochschule "regards all spiritual activity as sacred . . . by making the spirit serve the people, it redeems it from the one-sidedness of a barren intellectual culture". As Samuel and Thomas observe, these

aims "divorced from any concrete social programme, and taken in conjunction with Erdberg's general approach to questions of Germanism" seem to be connected with "vague notions of the nation as a community, founded not on reason, but on quasi-mystical participation in a common 'experience'".³

Many other aspects of German culture at this time show a similar tendency to divert basically healthy and fruitful ideas to the purposes of flawed and (if only in retrospect) sinister nationalism. The militarist and anti-Semitic tendencies within the 'Wandervögel' movement; and Nietzsche's carrying of heroic Romanticism to its ultimate conclusion in his notion of the artist-politician are further examples. As J P Stern notes "The call for a 'natural' leader, for the abolition of politics in favour of nationalism, of civilisation in favour of 'culture' the appeal to Nature, the blood, the iron will, the appeal to 'Northern' or later 'Aryan' values - all these belong to the temper of the Second German Empire".⁴ And it is clear that important aspects of this ideology were absorbed by the adult education movement and carried forward into the 1930s, bearing as it were the seeds of its own destruction.

The universities had failed to play the key role in the development of German adult education that they did elsewhere. In Jena, Leipzig and Munich, extension lectures on the English model were begun in the 1890s; but the universities were too essentially middle-class and conservative, and their all powerful professors too profoundly authoritarian in nature for the idea to spread in any important way. And it is generally true, despite many worthy exceptions, that both in the DDR and the BRD down to the present day, other agencies have tended to fill the sort of adult

education 'extension' roles filled in, for example Britain and America, by the universities.

By the end of the Weimar period, then, adult education in Germany was represented mainly by the Volkshochschulen, of which there were eventually 200, catering for around 2,000 students each at any one time. At their best, they were remarkably innovative, particularly in their attempts to liberalise conservative German teaching traditions, making much use for example of discussion groups and of student self-government. It may indeed be regarded as a tribute to this democratic tendency within the Volkshochschulen that the Nazis abolished them (together of course with Socialist Party, Trade Union classes and many others) soon after taking power and replaced them with their own Party - controlled 'Volksbildungsstätten' ('places of folk education'). These were evening institutes run as part of the 'Kraft durch Freude' organisation and there were some 400 of them in existence by 1939 with 250,000 enrolled students. As the new name and subordinate importance to the KdF movement would indicate, these institutions operated at a much lower level than the Volkshochschulen, purveying in the main, subjects such as racial history important to Nazi ideology, together with practical subjects like domestic science.

Both sections of the new divided Germany that emerged from the Second World War had many educational problems in common besides the terrible aftermath of the war obvious in shattered classrooms and a general lack of resources for rebuilding education systems to meet the needs of the post-war world. Above all, they both faced two problems which showed themselves most immediately and concretely in terms of staffing needs. These were the problems of deNazification and of

eliminating the deeply divisive elitism of the old educational system, both vital prerequisites to the building of the otherwise vastly different new social systems sought on either side of the West-East border. The methods of attaining these ends were naturally quite different in each country, and it is now necessary to trace the separate courses of development of adult education in the DDR and BRD, after 1945.

Education in the DDR

In the BRD as in Britain it would be quite feasible (if not particularly sensible) to describe the adult education system - because of the ad hoc nature both of its development and of its present condition - with little reference to its broader socio-educational setting. Such a description of the DDR system would on the other hand be quite meaningless because of the comprehensively planned and integrated nature of that country's system of education. The DDR is of course a socialist society, and the whole apparatus of the state, as in other Eastern Bloc countries is directed towards the formation of socialist man - not simply through the formal educational system, but using also every available influence of the media, work-based and professional organisations, sport and 'Kultur' towards this single and openly avowed end. The particular way in which this is done in the DDR is however significantly different, individual and in many ways uniquely German in the specific form given to applying the common Marxist-Leninist ideology it shares with its communist neighbours.

During the immediate post-war period, the DDR, like the BRD, was concerned mainly to restore a basic educational provision after the chaos of the last years of the war, while at the same time ensuring a

thorough purging of all Nazi elements from amongst teaching staff. The thoroughness with which the latter aim was carried out added to the problems of fulfilling the former. Some 20,000 teachers - almost half the entire teaching force - had been dismissed for Nazi party membership or connections by January 1946. Young workers from farms and industry were recruited to replace them, and special eight month courses set up to train them. It is probably at least partly because of this inadequate initial training of such a large proportion of the teaching force that in-service training quickly became a well established and highly efficient force in the DDR for improving teaching standards and introducing new ideas.

Problems of school buildings and books were also overcome in a remarkably short time. In Saxony and Thuringia alone, 239 schools had been completely destroyed and another 1,000 damaged to some extent during the war. Furniture, even heaters, doors and windows had frequently disappeared. But 90% of pre-war schools were again functioning in time for the beginning of the school year in October 1945. A school book publishing house, "Volk und Wissen GmbH" (People and Knowledge Ltd) had also been established to meet the need for suitably deNazified text books.

Once these basic problems were solved, the real task of building a socialist education system could begin. And while the ravages of war and the deNazification campaign did not together entirely present the new regime with a tabula rasa on which to start, the contrast with the more gradualist approach to reform in the BRD is marked. There is in the DDR no reluctance to speak of education in terms of social engineering. Over the entrance to the Humboldt University in East Berlin

is inscribed the text from Marx's 'Eleven Theses on Feuerbach': "Philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; but the real task is to change it." The overall objectives of the education system developed in the DDR since the war are perhaps best expressed in the words of paragraph 1 of the 'Integrated Socialist Education Act' of 1965: "a high standard of education for the people as a whole and a general education for the harmonious personal development of socialist citizens, who are conscious architects of social life, change nature and lead happy, fulfilled lives worthy of mankind".

The distinctive and individual nature of education in the DDR however lies more particularly in the fact that here, more perhaps than in most communist states, the idea of the centrally polytechnic character of education has been adhered to through the years. This had been propounded in particular by Lenin's wife Madame Krupskaya in the early days of the Russian Revolution; and many experiments were carried out during the heady years of the 1920s in the development of a general all-round education based on a mastery of the tools, skills and materials of production. The aim was to move away from the capitalist system, consisting of a basic education followed by a narrowly specialist training confining the worker to one particular part of the industrial process, towards an education which, while firmly based on productive work, would fit socialist workers to develop their skills and to be able to move freely about according to the needs of a developing economy. With the coming of the Stalin era, these experiments were in fact curtailed and there was a sharp return to old-fashioned formal education of a highly specialist and selective kind. And in spite of the Khrushchev reforms of 1958 which aimed to bring education once more into touch with the realities of production processes by including a

minimum industrial or agricultural element of 1/3 in the school timetable, the polytechnic idea has tended to remain a controversial issue in Soviet education.

In the DDR on the other hand there has been a steady development of the principle over the past 30 years. Indeed the idea of basing a general education on practical work and vocational training can be traced back to before the Weimar period in Germany's history, when George Kerchensteiner for example in a book published in 1912 was proposing "The idea of the Arbeitsschule". As Director of Education in Munich he was in a position to put into practice his ideas of transforming schools from 'Lernsschulen' (concerned only with the collection of knowledge) into 'Lebensschulen' where handicrafts and other activities would be integrated into a curriculum designed to be at all points in touch with real life. Kerchensteiner's theories nevertheless came under explicit criticism in the DDR because, as Hearnden notes "however valuable his conception of the complementary nature of intellectual and practical activity, it still assumed a school system which assigned the overwhelming majority of children to an education which fitted them for little other than skilled and semi-skilled trades, and thereby buttressed the educational privileges of the middle class".⁵ A later development of such ideas along more socially radical lines was more directly influential. This was the work of Paul Oestreich's "Bund entschiedener Schulreformer" (League of Radical School Reformers) which carried the idea of the 'Arbeitsschule' with its emphasis on self-expression through hard work a stage further and called instead for a 'Produktionsschule' where the emphasis was transferred instead to the community. An influential Bund member Siegfried Kawerau defined the aims of the Produktionsschule as being "to educate pupils to a sense of

responsibility, to productive and also economically productive activity through the development of the special talents in each child within the framework of society".⁶ It is a short step in principle from that to the aims of the 1965 Act; though the working out of these aims in terms of curricula, methods and timetables was naturally enough not a straightforward or simple process.

The first major step came in the decision of the ruling SED's* 2nd Party Congress in 1952 to begin the development of a socialist education by strengthening working-class influence on education. This was to be achieved by means of 'contracts' by which factory or farm production units undertook to adopt a class. These contracts included support (not too clearly specified) for the children's polytechnical education, help with careers advice, leisure activities and material supplies to schools. It took a further six years of experiment and discussion before a curriculum was developed realising some of the aims of polytechnical education. Children in the 1st to 4th grades were taught the use of simple machines and tools and introduced to physical work. In grades 5 and 6 actual productive work became increasingly the focus of regular classes which increased to a weekly 'Produktionstag' from the 7th grade onwards. Basic syllabuses for the polytechnical element in the timetable varied according to the location of the school, as shown in Fig 4.1 below.

* Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands, or Socialist Unity Party of Germany

<u>Grade</u>	<u>Schools in Industrial Areas</u>	<u>Schools in Agricultural Areas</u>
7	Metalwork	Metalwork Crop Production I
8	Mechanics I	Metalwork (continued) Livestock Production I Electronics
9	Agricultural Production	Mechanics Crop Production II
10	Mechanics II	Livestock Production II

Fig 4.1 Work-related elements of syllabuses in the DDR (based on information in 'The Development of a socialist education system in the GDR', Panorama Report, Berlin, 1977 p38)

Until this period - the late '50s - there had been considerable debate and difference of practice, over the length of schooling and over total comprehensivisation of initial education. But in 1959 the People's Chamber (the DDR Parliament) passed the "Act on the Socialist Development of Education", which laid down that all children were thenceforward to receive their education in the 10 grade comprehensive polytechnical schools; and made universal and obligatory also the linking of education and training to practical work and the practical experience of socialist construction. This Act laid the foundation for a steady progress towards the present day system, the final milestone in the development of which was the 'Integrated Socialist Education Act' of 1965. This Act detailed still further the comprehensive education, vocational training and higher education open to all, and established the existing structure as shown in Fig 4.2.

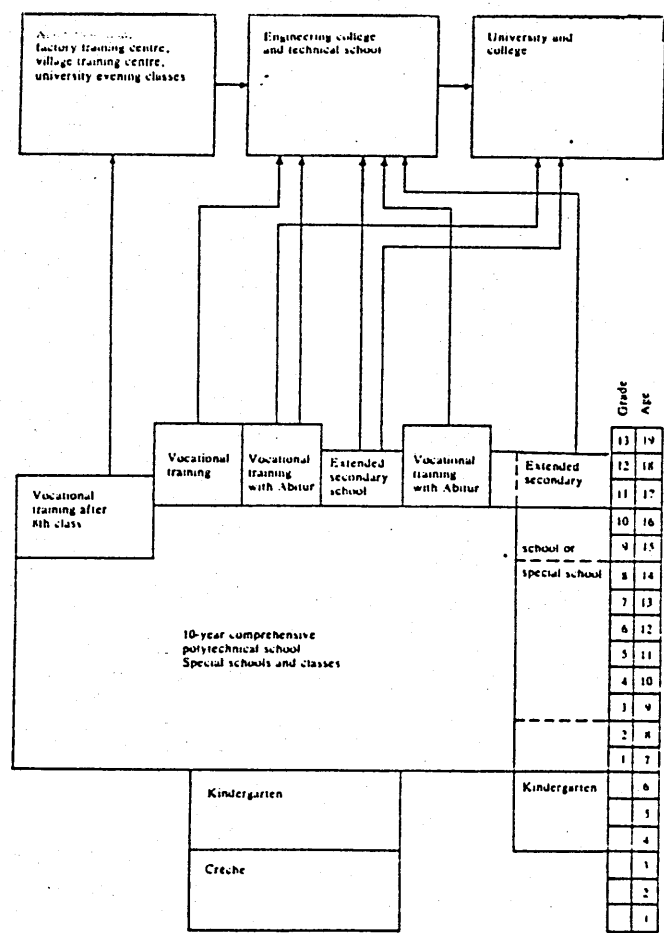


Fig 4.2 The Education system in the DDR (from the DDR Ministry of Education Report 'The Development of a Socialist Education System in the DDR', Berlin, 1977 p54

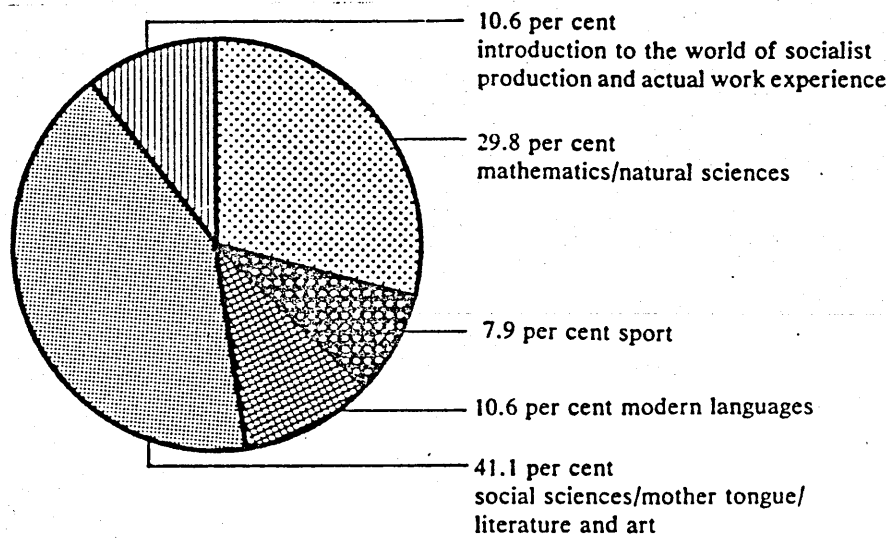


Fig 4.3 Time Allocated to Different Areas of Study in the DDR Polytechnical Schools since the mid-sixties (from Ministry of Education Report, op cit, p56)

The 'polytechnical' philosophy which is still important in this system has been well stated by Drefenstedt: "Polytechnical instruction and the education to creative and disciplined work, which is especially closely connected with it, gives general education its specific character which is typical of socialist society. Work is the basic activity of man. It is primarily in his work that he develops his personality by freely unfolding his powers and extending his social relations in this basic sphere of life. However not every type of work, but only work which is free of exploitation can serve this aim, ie work by which the producer as an equal owner of the means of production objectifies his creative powers for the public welfare and happiness".⁷ One achievement of fundamental education in the DDR appears to be that the pursuit of these aims has not prevented the maintenance of a high standard of theoretical study in mathematics and the natural sciences; neither has there been neglect of more traditional language and literacy studies. Of particular significance for adult education is the emphasis put throughout the initial education system, on the importance of seeing this initial education as a basis for life-long learning. "Above all, young people must develop a willingness to carry on learning, a love of knowledge, and they must be taught how to learn: the skills and abilities they will need in order to do this by themselves must be systematically fostered".⁸

It has been necessary to trace the development of initial education in some detail simply because all post-school education is closely linked with it in an education system which is highly integrated not merely in an organisational, but in a thematic sense: the centrality of work, the mastery of his own society to the development of the individual is a dominant note running through the entire vocational, higher and

continuing education systems of the DDR. After the common polytechnic schooling of the first ten years, there is the possibility of a direct route to university, engineering or technical college through the 'Extended Secondary Schools' for the most able. Some 13% of the school population proceed by this route. They are selected on the basis of their school records, and also their success in the various subject 'olympiads' (inter-school competitions) held each year. Though this may fairly be called a direct route to higher education, it should be noted that the work-centred aspect of education is not lost sight of. It is often indeed necessary to show evidence of motivation for more sought-after professions such as dentistry by engaging in an obligatory practical year between Abitur and university, working as a receptionist or in similar non-professional aspects of the chosen career.

The Pattern of Post-School Education Today

For the majority, school is followed by one of three sorts of vocational training:

1. A one year course of continuing general education and basic technical education leading to a 'semi-skilled' qualification.
2. A two year course leading to a 'Facharbeiterabschluss' - equivalent to having served an apprenticeship.
3. A three year course combining (2) with an Abitur.

These are all basically full-time courses with relevant work-experience being arranged as necessary. Many of the vocational schools are indeed attached to factories; but there is a strong emphasis on the need to provide a broadly based training rather than one aimed at producing 'factory fodder' meeting the narrow requirements of any specific factory or industry.

As we move on from opportunities for initial education to consider adult education proper, we find that there is still a distinct and unique emphasis given to vocational aspects. There is considerable justice in the claim of the Deputy Director of the Central Institute of Vocational Training that under the DDR system of adult education "everybody who already pursues his profession, every working person is given the opportunity to improve his knowledge and reach a higher degree of qualification; be it on the job or in his spare time".⁹ As with initial vocational education, the institutions and organisations which offer these opportunities tend to be locally based - whether in factories, schools, trade unions or professional organisations - but to be operating with objectives and curricula worked out centrally at Party Congresses. The following are the principal institutions engaged in further training, refresher courses and in the education of cadres for positions of leadership:

1. Factory Academies

Apart from the training and further training of workers in skills related to the needs of the industry concerned, these institutions have two special objectives at the present time. These are, the training of semi-skilled workers to be skilled craftsmen, and the provision of paths of advance from narrowly profiled jobs to modern broad-based vocations; and the advanced training of foremen. As the table below illustrates, the integration of technical with economic and political education is emphasised in this as in all levels of vocational and professional education.

DURATION	SUBJECT	COMMENT
<i>Specialization</i> 2-3 months	Specialization of foremen in practical courses (to be carried out, as a rule, in the future sector of employment); preparation for running a foreman's section	Individually and object-oriented employment
<i>Technical Training</i> 5-6 months (at least 480 hours)	Technology Machine apparatus and instrument engineering Material economy Testing, measuring and control techniques Other subjects in line with special fields Also includes health, labour and fire protection and civil defence	Different for 115 specializations
<i>Basic training</i> 10 months (or 851 hours)	Socialist management of the economy (237 hours) Socialist science of labour (120 hours) Pedagogical and psychological foundations of socialist managerial activities (142 hours) Fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist philosophy (74 hours) Fundamentals of political economy (126 hours) Scientific communism and lessons of the struggle of the German and international working-class movement (52 hours)	For all specializations the same

Fig 4.4 The Training of Foremen (from G Schneider 'Adult Education in the German Democratic Republic', Prospects No 2, 1977, p271)

Edith Niehuis¹⁰ notes a tendency in recent years to emphasise this education and training for leadership and a corresponding decline in the more broadly based training of the semi-skilled, and postulates the development of a social divide between the mass of the working force and the highly educated cadres. This would seem to be an interesting but as yet unproven thesis. Schneider claims on the contrary that every fourth worker "participates in a planned and systematic qualification course in compliance with the present and future needs of his profession and of society as a whole",¹¹ and gives the following figures to illustrate the growth in all categories of qualified workers.

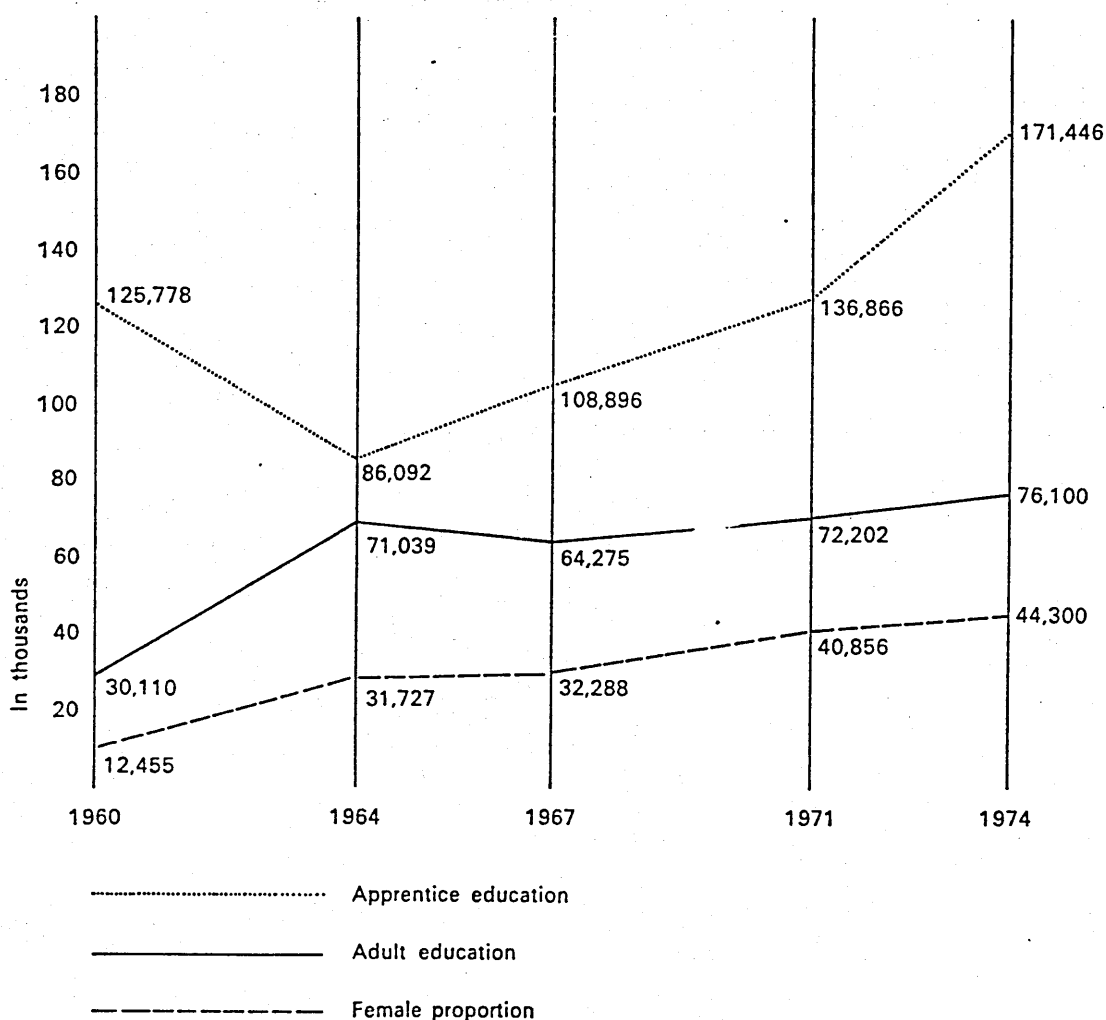


Fig 4.5 Growth in Supply of Qualified Workers in the DDR (from Schneider, op cit, p272)

2. Co-operative Academies

These fulfil the function of Factory Academies for groups of factories or other organisations which are too small to support an Academy on an individual basis.

3. Village Academies

These are for the training and further training of skilled workers in agriculture. The share of skilled workers has increased from under 10% to over 75% during the past two decades. Nevertheless there has been considerable criticism within the DDR of these

'Dorfakademien' and they appear to lack the drive and possibly also the resources which have contributed to the success of the Factory vocational schools and workers' academies.

4. **Industrial Branch Academies**

These are responsible for the training and further training of managers in the socialist management of the economy.

5. Higher level training is found in the central institutions:

The Walter Ulbricht Academy (Civil Servants)

The Karl Marx University (party officials)

The Institute for Socialist Economics, and

The Institute for Social Sciences.

6. Higher Technological education and training is becoming

increasingly the special responsibility of the 'Kammer der Technik' (Council for Technology) a professional organisation comprising almost 200,000 scientists, engineers and technicians. The Kammer organises conferences, seminars and lectures designed to encourage the development of technology furthering national policies for economic development, and is also developing a growing number of courses both of residential and distance learning kinds as a contribution (in co-operation with the technical colleges and universities) to higher technological training.

7. Finally, a unique development in the DDR is the responsibility of each Kreis (or district) to support Women's Academies, institutions designed to meet the special needs of women for both general education and vocational training and qualification. As 84% of women and girls in the DDR carry on a trade, their importance in the working force is obviously great, but there is a strong emancipatory drive behind the aims of the Women's Academies which is probably as important as the economic one. Classes are

organised to take into account the special family problems of women and special day release measures imposed on all industrial concerns (one day a week for women with one or two children - two days for those with three or more).

General Education - The Role of the Volkshochschule

In the immediate aftermath of the War it was to the familiar Volkshochschule structure that the DDR turned for the solution of many of its most pressing problems in adult education and training. As early as January 1946, the Soviet Military Administration issued an Order for the establishment of Volkshochschulen in all large towns and country districts with the goal of spreading "general, scientific and political knowledge amongst the broad mass of the people" and to encourage "active participation in the democratic reconstruction of Germany".¹² With the development of the integrated polytechnical system of education however, the importance of the Volkshochschulen as far as scientific and political education were concerned at least, diminished during the 1950s, while the role of the factory, co-operative and village academies and vocational schools was developed. By 1970 the Volkskammer (People's Assembly) was defining the responsibility of the Volkshochschule in the following terms: "The Volkshochschulen have an especial responsibility to assist workers in their aspirations for higher general education. They should concentrate on courses which:

Extend and deepen general education;

Introduce specific new areas of science or other areas of knowledge affecting the intellectual and cultural life of the working classes;

Help workers to prepare for higher educational qualifications.¹³

The relative diminution in the role of the Volkshochschulen should not

be taken to imply that they are no longer important in an absolute sense. Their role may in fact reasonably be thought of in UK terms as replacing the LEA continuing and community education system (including much of the work of FE Colleges), the WEA and the university extra-mural departments. There is at least one Volkshochschule with a Director and other full-time professionals in each of the 220 Districts of the DDR. Each institution has responsibilities which extend beyond its main centre and often involve co-operation with other bodies such as the Dorfakademien in the setting up of general education classes. Over 300,000 students participate in these classes each year, almost half of whom are seeking formal educational qualifications of one sort or another such as would further their career ambitions by qualifying them for professional and higher technical courses.

Urania

The other major adult education institution in the DDR is the 'Urania' organisation, the general aims of which are more broadly educative than those of the Volkshochschulen. Named after the Muse of Astronomy, Urania was founded in 1966 as a "Society for the Dissemination of Scientific Knowledge". The central presidium of Urania consists of 100 leading academicians of all disciplines; and there are also region and district executive boards which organise widespread lectures, film shows followed by discussions and other events throughout the country in towns, villages and factories. In 1975 there were 319,202 Urania events of this kind with 11.1 million participants. Some 60% of these events covered economics, international problems, or politics while the rest were about equally divided between medicine, psychology/pedagogy, technology, and geo/ecological subjects.¹⁴ Urania has its own publishing house and its 'Akzent' paperback series publishing in the

fields of 'Man and Society' and 'Natural Science and Technology' are important examples of its activities. The 'Urania' monthly magazine has also a widespread influence, with a circulation of 120,000.

Education in the Bundesrepublik

If the keynote of education in the DDR since its creation has been the development of an integrated polytechnic system, that of the BRD has been rather one of continuity with the pre-Nazi classical humanist tradition. In spite of earnest pleas and directives from the Allied Control Commission from 1945 onwards, little attempt was made in any of the nine Länder to do other than reconstruct the system on the basis of Weimar or even pre-1914 educational models. A Control Commission directive of 1947 specifically called for a comprehensive educational system for the period of compulsory education, as well as a long list of other reforms, including: equality of educational opportunity; school health services; and free tuition and teaching materials.¹⁵

The social philosophy however underlying the 'Wirtschaftswunder' of the 1950s and early '60s reflected (as an OECD report recognises) belief in the need to return to 'normalcy' - a normalcy "defined not without reason, as enough food to eat, a roof overhead, some decent clothes to wear, and stability of social and political institutions. The philosophy of hard daily toil along conventional lines dominated social and political thought. Whatever its value, this approach to life was certainly not conducive to nurturing ideals of basic social reform".¹⁶

And no serious moves towards the realisation of egalitarian educational ideas were made until the 1960s, with the appointment of the 'Bildungsrat' (Education Council) and the publication of its various proposals for reform.

These culminated in the 'Strukturplan' of April 1970 which recommend amongst other reforms the adoption of a broadened entry to higher education via vocational and other non-Gymnasium courses; and a move towards a more unified teaching profession through a fundamental reshaping of teacher education which would abolish the harmful divisions between the elitist Gymnasium staff and the rest. Proposals for the move towards a comprehensive school system were more tentative and have continued throughout the seventies to be a source of deep division between political parties and within the teaching profession. Progress in all areas of educational reform are further hampered by the Federal system of the BRD which gives the final say in large areas of decision making to the separate 'Land' governments.

Despite a slow growth in the creation of comprehensive schools in some of the more progressive Länder such as Hesse and Berlin, the common educational experience of most adults and many young people in the BRD today has been the traditional four years of Grundschule, followed by five years at 'Hauptschule' (Secondary Modern) or six at a Realschule (Intermediate Secondary). Only the privileged or very able few have had experience of a 'Gymnasium' (Grammar School) and a direct route to Higher Education. Rather more success has been achieved in pursuing the elusive goal of 'Chancengleichheit' by means of improving transferability (Durchlässigkeit) within the existing system, as well as in the growing provision of varied opportunities for adults of a remedial or 'second chance' kind, which are dealt with below. Nevertheless, some 70% of school leavers proceed from Grundschule to Hauptschule and into working life with only limited encouragement and opportunity to prepare for higher education, as compared with around 12% Mittelschule and 18% Gymnasium attenders.

Vocational Education and Training

Considerable resources are, it is true, poured into vocational education. Attendance at a vocational school one day per week is obligatory until the age of 18. Traditional standards of excellence at craft, technician and professional levels are maintained by the various Chambers of Trade, Commerce and Industry. This 'dual' system came in for some criticism in the seventies, to some extent because of the success of the highly integrated polytechnic system in the DDR. Specifically, there was a strongly felt need to provide a more general basic vocational education more suited to the swiftly changing needs of modern industry than the old limited and specific apprenticeship training could provide. As in the field of initial education, there has been considerable political will and impetus for reform at Federal level, but also considerable resistance, and suspicion of central government in many of the Lander, making the development of a comprehensive national system geared to the needs of the economy extremely difficult.

Some progress has been made in promoting consultation between the Lander on the harmonisation of vocational school curricula, and in persuading the various 'Kammer' or Chambers to reduce the number of trades (still too high at around 450) and abolish the 'Anlernberuf' or semi-skilled qualification. Various Federal Institutions perform useful functions:

1. The Institute for Employment, which deals with guidance, placement and retraining, and also handles unemployment benefit;
2. The Institute of Vocational Training Research;
3. The Institute of Labour Market Research.

In spite of these efforts however, a recent Report (on the Structural Problems of the Federal Education System - May 1978) nicknamed the

'Defects Report' speaks of continuing 'cultural chaos' to which split responsibilities in vocational education are a contributory factor. While regulations on training standards and trade qualifications are clearly established by the Federal Government, the teaching programmes of the various schools are still determined by the various Länder and there is insufficient co-ordination between the two.

Higher Education

Theoretically, all 'Abiturienten' have a right to enter a University or equivalent institution. In practice, entry to some popular courses is limited by the so-called 'numerous clausus', so that qualified applications for dentistry for example regularly outnumber places by a ratio of seven to one. The Central Office for University Admissions in Dortmund uses a complicated system of selection based on the Abitur Grade, a 'Land' quota system, and so-called 'waiting time'. Around 75% of the 250,000 Abiturienten who qualify each year go on to some form of post-secondary education.

For the majority of school leavers who have had little or no opportunity to qualify for Higher Education during the period of initial education, there exists the 'Zweiter Bildungsweg' or 'Second Chance Route' via vocational education and part-time study. In some 40 'Abendgymnasien' it is possible for anyone over 19 and either in possession of an appropriate 'Mittelschule' qualification or with at least three years work experience, to undertake a long and fairly arduous course of study leading to 'Hochschulreife' or University Entrance qualification. Apart from the difficulty of the course and the conditions of part-time study, another obstacle to 'Chancengleichheit' in this field however is the uneven distribution of institutions offering appropriate courses.

Bavaria, for example, with twice the population of Hesse has only half the number of Abendgymnasien. It is not surprising therefore that only a few thousand adults each year qualify by means of this route. One specific institution - the Fernuniversität¹⁶ - carries on this principle of providing alternatives to full-time study in conventional institutions, into university level study.

Adult and Continuing Education in the BRD

In contrast with the comprehensive and highly integrated educational system of the DDR, there is then in the BRD a variety of approaches to be found across the various Länder to Initial Education (ie School, Vocational and Higher Education). This variety becomes rich (if not indeed rank) at the level of Adult and Continuing Education. As far back as 1970 the German Education Council (Deutscher Bildungsrat) had proposed a Structural Plan for Education which gave a specific role to Continuing Education*: 'There should be as much social interest in offering to the widest possible public a comprehensive and established system of Continuing Education as there is in ensuring school education for all . . . The overall laws which apply to Initial Education apply also to the general area of Continuing Education'.¹⁷ This somewhat wistful longing for new structures was echoed three years later by the weighty Federal-State Commission for Educational Planning

* NB The term Continuing Education is used here as a reasonable if rough approximation to translate 'Weiterbildung'; which certainly does not mean Further Education in the narrow UK sense. It would often indeed be more accurate to use the even broader 'Post-initial Education'.

(Bund-Länder-Kommission; or BLK) from which specific proposals for accomplishing the Strukturplan in reality were looked for. However little progress was made apart from a series of general recommendations for co-operation in the field of Continuing Education, in the document which the BLK eventually produced. Like most of the relevant State Laws, this document - the Bildungsgesamtplan - recognised seven distinct areas of Continuing Education:

1. Non-professional education for qualification (eg Abitur)
2. Professional and vocational education
3. Scientific education
4. Political education
5. Education for recreational and creative purposes
6. Parent and family education; and
7. Education for Personal Development.

Only the Volkshochschulen can claim anything approaching a comprehensive attempt to cover this entire area within the one type of institution. For the rest, a bewildering variety of institutions offer a great range of courses. Their relationships are indicated in helpful terms of 'closed' (eg trade union) and 'open' education in the scheme by Hamacher shown in Fig 4.6.

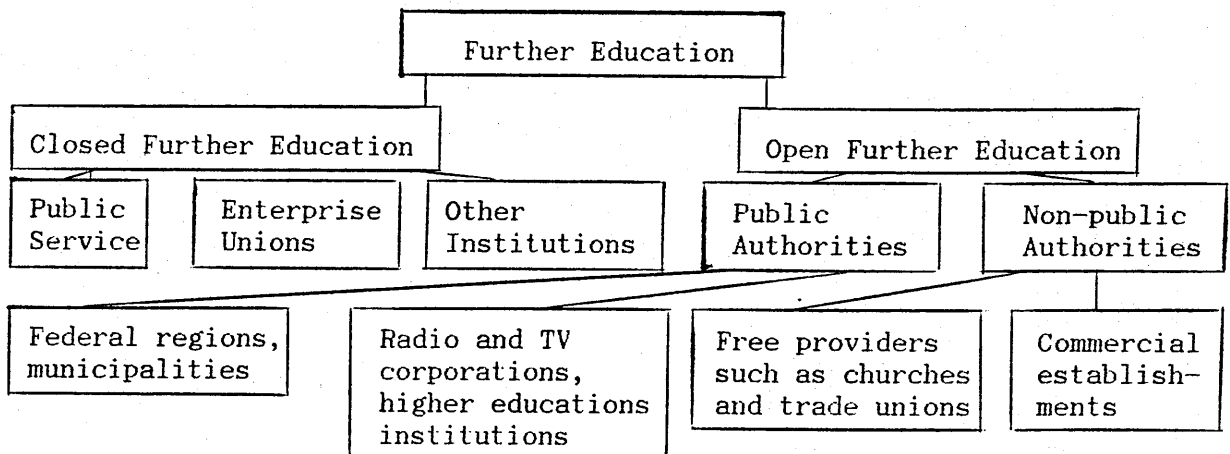


Fig 4.6 Types of Adult Education Institution in the BRD (by P Hamacher in J H Knoll's 'Adult Education in the Federal Republic of Germany', Prague 1980 p41)

The Chambers of Trade and Industry, the Craft and Agricultural Chambers are all examples of providers active in their own areas of concern, but in addition frequently offer courses of wider interest, as do the Trade Union umbrella organisations the Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund (DGB - or Trade Union Congress) and the Deutsche Angestellten Gewerkschaft (DAG - or German Office Employees Union). In addition a joint DGB - Volkshochschulen organisation 'Arbeit und Leben' (Work and Life) offers a range of courses aimed at the particular needs of the working classes, and in particular at equipping them to play a more active role in society. Every Land, with the exception of Baden-Württemberg, has a Committee with representatives from local trade unions and Volkshochschulen which offers general direction of the programmes of the 350 district committees which actually mount the courses. These are concerned mainly with political education, including education for international understanding; but the latter subject area may frequently include broadly cultural and also foreign language courses. The Federal 'Arbeit und Leben' Committee frequently mounts international seminars, often in co-operation with French and English organisations.

Apart from this co-operative work in the field of general education, organisations like the DAG as well as many individual unions see their more specifically vocational or political education as operating very much within a broad framework of education for social responsibility. The DAG in addition to directing the professional education of some 200,000 members at any one time through its DAG-Schulen, the DAG-Technikum (offering Master Craftsman qualifications by distance learning methods) and the Deutschen Angestellten-Akademie in Hamburg, sees itself as having a wider role in "influencing change in our society in a democratic and socialist direction".¹⁸ The DGB has likewise a

major educational role through its 270 local DGB-Circles, its 14 Trade Union Schools, five DGB Schools, the 'House for Young Trade unionists' and three Academies offering high-level courses: the Workers Academy, Frankfurt, the Socialist Academy-Dortmund, and the University of Economics and Politics in Hamburg. In general, vocational and professional courses play a smaller part in the offerings of these institutions compared with the DAG, and there is a decided emphasis on law, politics and economic studies. Compared with other adult education organisations, the DGB has had some success in reaching the educationally underprivileged; though less so in the particular cases of women participants (only 19% of the whole). There is also a DGB Correspondence College with courses which include basic subjects as well as the more usual trade union topics, and an enrolment of around 15,000 per year.

The Churches

It is difficult from a British standpoint to understand the major role of the churches in BRD adult education, unless one appreciates their relative financial stability. This is brought about by the 4 1/2% income tax which virtually all West Germans pay to the Church of which they are (however nominally) members. Though it is possible to opt out of this obligation by renouncing church membership, remarkably few citizens appear willing to do this even where their church adherence is strictly on a 'births, weddings and funerals' basis. Both the Evangelical Churches (dominant in the north and east) and the Catholic (southern and western Lander) have used these resources to build on the conventional sort of Christian education found in British churches, a much broader and more ambitious structure embracing also in some cases even professional and vocational education and usually supported by

major contributions from State and Federal funds. Though there is some difference of emphasis in the educational philosophies and aims of the two denominations, both make use of a diversity of institutional settings - church academies, residential centres and family education centres as well as locally organised courses, seminars, 'encounters', study trips and exhibitions.

The Evangelical Churches

Though most of the educational activities in the various institutions are carried out independently of any strong central guidelines, there is a loose state and federal structure which encourages collaboration in Reformed Church adult education. At Federal level, there is the "Deutsche Evangelische Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Erwachsenenbildung" (Evangelical Adult Education Committee) with a small centre in Karlsruhe. Similar co-ordinating bodies exist at Land and regional levels, while the more particular interests of the residential centres and the Family Education Centres are represented by other state-level bodies like the "Niedersächsischen Landesverband der Heimvolkshochschulen" (the Lower Saxony State Organisation for Adult Residential Schools) and the "Landesarbeitsgemeinschaft evangelischer Familien-Bildungsstätten" (State Committees for Evangelical Family Education Centres) respectively.

While there is naturally a Christian basis to the programme planning of the various Evangelical institutions, this does not mean that programme content consists largely or even mainly of overt teaching about Christian belief. The general emphasis is rather on the need to respond to the social problems of the day and in particular to: social changes caused by industrialisation; to the need to foster democracy in Germany;

and to the problems caused for the individual by the pluralism of belief and 'Weltanschauung' in present day society. It appears to be a fundamental tenet of Evangelical Adult Education that no sphere of human life should be neglected in its programme building, though due care is taken not to duplicate unnecessarily programmes or activities being undertaken by other organisations.

While nationwide statistics seem impossible to come by, the figures for participants in various categories of courses in Evangelical Churches in Bavaria in 1974 will give a more specific idea of how these general policies have evolved in practice. The figures refer to all kinds of educational activities, from study trips to seminars, courses and single lectures.

<u>Subject Area</u>	<u>No of Activities</u>	<u>No of Participants</u>
Personal Development	2,511	130,295
Family Education	1,656	56,477
Political Studies	687	32,209
Vocational and other Qualifying Courses	433	14,211
Total	5,287	233,192

(figures provided by Evangelical Church in Bavaria)

Catholic Adult Education

Unlike the Evangelical system, Catholic Adult Education has a federal co-ordinating body (die Katholische Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft für Erwachsenenbildung) based in Bonn, which amongst other important central services, lays down general guidelines as to method, content and organisation. It also runs educational conferences and courses for adult educationists, and is a publishing and distributing centre for a variety of educational materials. Another growing point of contrast with Evangelical Adult Education lies in a change of emphasis in the Catholic

system in recent years from education for democracy and other socially relevant subjects to an increasing concern with more specifically theological themes. Courses on such topics now comprise some 20% of the total; however other major categories remain, including political and social education (20%) and Family Education (also 20%).

A most important development during the past two decades has been the growth of the Catholic Academies. These were established to provide an institutional base for more intensive and systematic courses, seminars and series of lectures or public debates on issues of contemporary interest and concern. In the case of the highly successful Munich Academy, for example its recent programme included a series of six forum-type meetings on Radio and Television in Society, a similar series on the subject "Whither the DGB" (ie the Trades Union Congress) and one on "Marxism in a Wealthy Society". It also ran a successful qualifying course for professional adult educationists, mounted several exhibitions, and has an impressive list of publications.

Volkshochschulen in the BRD

While it is difficult, because of the lack of comprehensive statistics for other sectors of adult education in the BRD, to provide an accurate idea of the relative importance of the Volkshochschulen, there is little doubt that they constitute the most important sector, whether one considers the breadth and comprehensive nature of their programmes, the broad nature of their support from the community, or the actual figures relating to participation and the total number of courses offered. Of the VHS in the West it is true even more than in the DDR, that they offer the equivalent, in American or British terms, of the contribution to adult education of the University Extra-Mural or Extension

Departments, the WEA and the local authorities all rolled into one. They are deeply committed to a client-orientated approach to programme building and to the principle of openness with regard to participants, themes and methods. Three often stated key of the VHS aims relate as much to method as to content:

1. To offer help in learning specific subject areas (some 50% of all VHS programmes)
2. To offer help in orientation and judgement forming (some 30% of programmes)
3. To offer help in self-development through more spontaneous groups or individual activities (some 20% of programmes)¹⁹

The VHS system lays great stress then, on the need to meet its clientele and potential clientele more than halfway, and to accomplish much of its programme building on the basis of problem solving, projects and issues of local or minority group interest. It has nevertheless an agreed common list of subject areas covering at least the more subject orientated courses which is used in reports, statistics etc for administrative convenience. These are as follows:

Study skills

Society-Politics-Law

Education-Psychology-Philosophy-Religion

Literature-Art-Music-the Media

Mathematics-Science-Technology

Economics-Business Studies

Languages

Domestic Science

Health-Hygiene-Gymnastics

Arts and Crafts-Games

School-leaving Certificate Studies

In addition to offering courses leading to existing school-leaving certificates from Hauptschule to Abitur level, the VHS system is currently developing its own VHS Certificate programme. This is organised on a 'Baukasten' or 'Building-block' system of credits using widely agreed curricula. Eventually it is hoped that it will be possible for adults to continue their formal studies by this means in any part of the BRD and over any period of time - something which is at present extremely difficult because of the wide differences in curricula and qualifications in the different Länder. Though the VHS Certificate is not yet widely recognised as a qualification, it is coming into some use in industry and commerce as a step towards promotion.

In 1980 the VHS offered between them almost 280,000 courses in which some 5 million participants took part and in addition some 12,000 public lectures and other events attended by almost 4 million participants. These activities took place for the most part in the 90 individual Volkshochschulen or their 3,000 auxiliary centres. Over one half of these institutions have formal links with their local authority, while the remainder are independent registered associations. All however belong to active Land VHS associations which represent their interests and provide a range of services for them. At the Federal level the Deutsche Volkshochschulverband (with its familiar acronym DVV) receives Federal Government support for a wide range of research, publishing and other activities, extending frequently beyond the parochial needs of its member bodies - as for example in the excellent trilingual journal 'Adult Education and Development'; or in its co-operative activities with radio and television to be described later in more detail. Some of the total costs of maintaining the VHS system is met by fees and 68% grants from community, district, Land and

Federal sources. In spite of this wide range of support, the VHS organisations are not particularly satisfied with their mode of financing and a recent DVV conference was much occupied with discussion on this subject. As the main Conference paper concluded "While the VHS share of the total spent on education remains under 1%, it is clear that it is still not possible to speak of equality of rights for continuing education".²⁰

The Role of the Universities in Adult Education

While it is true that the elitism of German universities in the past has prevented development of the extension or extra-mural role of American and British universities, there are at the present time two separate sets of pressure for change which are persuading many universities in the BRD to begin seeking an appropriate role in the developing field of adult and continuing education. These are:

1. The new demands on higher education coming from a rapidly developing and successful industrial economy intent on maintaining its leading world role; and
2. The more pragmatic need of most universities to find new roles in face of a threatened falling-off in demand for undergraduate places.

In common with other industrial nations, West Germany is finding it necessary to place an ever greater emphasis on the need for continuing vocational education and training throughout working life, and the universities are slowly coming to terms with the need to play their part in this process by adapting their structures and methods, and by embarking on teaching and research in new areas of knowledge more related to the needs of technology and the market place. In this

respect, many BRD universities, particularly those in industrial areas such as the University of the Ruhr in Bochum are as advanced as any in the Western world in this process of adaptation. A more recent stimulus to seek new roles however has been the growing likelihood of a surplus of entrance capacity - presently seen as a danger in the main by the smaller institutions, but according to recent calculations likely to effect even the larger universities once the mid-eighties bulge has passed by. One prediction indeed postulates an overall 11% surplus for 1985, growing significantly in the years thereafter.²¹

Though some extra-mural work on the UK model has been developed, particularly at Göttingen, and Berlin Universities, there is little scope for development in this area simply because that type of adult education provision in the BRD is supplied more than adequately already by a variety of institutions, notably the VHS. The universities are looking therefore to new target groups of potential clientele, well summarised by Brandes and Raters as follows:

1. Persons who intend to catch up . . . (in) science.
2. Persons who have as a result of changes . . . in socio-economic development a need of new, supplementary or other qualifications.
3. Persons who intend to get higher qualifications.
4. Persons who couldn't start or finish a graduate course on personal or social grounds.
5. Persons who are in possession of a university entrance qualification or achieved the required ability for participating in further studies in their job or in other ways.

They point out also the combined effects of earlier retirement and higher life expectancy or increasing interest in higher education amongst older age groups.²² While recognising the importance of

improving access to higher education in this way to a wider public, Knoll stresses in addition the special responsibilities of the universities in assisting research and both initial and post-initial professional education in the field of adult and continuing education.²³

It is, however the effect of these changes on teaching methods in the universities which is of greatest interest and relevance to this thesis. As will be examined in detail in Chapter Six, one important effect of their efforts to adapt to their new roles in society has been to encourage BRD Universities to enter the field of distance learning, including multimedia projects in co-operation with the broadcasting companies, and also co-operative projects with the two specialist distance learning institutions DIFF and the Fernuniversität.

Some Important Points of Comparison Between the Two Systems

While it is no intention of this study to make a complete analysis of the DDR and BDR adult education systems, there are nevertheless certain features which must be examined in order to understand the kinds of response to educational needs made by broadcasters and educationists in each country. Of particular importance is a comparison of their respective social goals and of the effect these have on educational goals. We have on the one hand in the BRD a pluralistic society with barely discernible overall goals except in the most general sense. Individual Länder within the Federation and likewise institutions and voluntary groups of many kinds have a high degree of autonomy and often widely divergent goals of their own. The establishment of representative parliamentary democracy and the building of bulwarks against any recurrence of totalitarianism would undoubtedly find wide acceptance within BRD society as important goals. But issues such as

defence and ecology on the other hand are only two of many deeply divisive ones troubling West German society today. The consequent educational goals are likewise highly pluralist in nature, though with the inculcation of democratic ideals and an awareness of the dangers of totalitarianism ranking high among them.

The DDR on the other hand is openly dedicated to the ideal of a socialist collectivist state. Its educational ideals are described quite explicitly in a key Act as focusing on "the education of universally and harmoniously developed socialist personalities who consciously shape social life, change nature and lead a full and happy life worthy of human beings."²⁴ The significance for comparative study of this contrast was remarked on by Knoll²⁵ following the publication of his analysis of adult education in the DDR. This study was criticised by DDR educationists on the grounds that their system could not be understood by means of structural analysis alone, but only in the light of their educational goal - the socialist personality.*

The structures are however different and they are different in significant and revealing ways, as Fig 4.7 illustrates. The integrated nature of DDR schooling in the Polytechnische Oberschule as compared with the five main types of school found in the BRD is clear. At the tertiary or post-initial stage, centrally planned and integrated

* This distinction between structure-oriented and goal-oriented analysis could be an important one in an education system undergoing rapid change. Its significance is doubtful however in this case, as DDR education is in fact almost certainly more stable than that of the BRD which is in some respects undergoing quite important change related to the goals of different social groups.

education and training, primarily vocational in nature, continues in the DDR in a variety of settings. There is a strong emphasis on the workplace and on the legal obligations of the employer - in most cases the management of the co-operative enterprises - to provide continuing education for all. While there is a growing BRD emphasis on this type of education and training (a recent Federal Government estimate stating that 1/3 of all vocational education was provided by employers)²⁶ the general pattern is undoubtedly more like the familiar UK one, with vocational training being provided traditionally by the FE and Commercial Colleges, Polytechnics, or their equivalents. General education at the post-initial stage is also concentrated fairly heavily in the workplace in the DDR, though the Universities and other institutions of higher education all offer part-time opportunities. The 'Kreis' or District based institutions - principally the Volkshochschulen, Frauenakademien (Women's Academies) and Urania branches - also play an important role in general education. Post-initial general education in the BRD on the other hand is provided by a wide range of bodies, both statutory and voluntary, whose variety is only suggested in Fig 4.7. Funding, general aims and structural links with the rest of the post-initial system all show enormous variety and hence from the point of view of the adult student, great complexity as a system to find one's way around. There has been no significant development of counselling services to assist adults in this process.

Participation

Comparative participation in these systems is difficult to determine with any accuracy owing to the available figures being presented in different forms. However, three relevant features are fairly clear:

1. As indicated in Fig 4.7, the majority of BRD citizens proceed to

working life after Hauptschule by means of a vocational training system which is provided by a variety of bodies and will frequently consist of the legal minimum of one day per week until age 18. While transferability within the system has improved in recent years, there is a clear contrast to be seen in terms of 'Chancengleichheit' with the DDR system which has for over 20 years been offering a strongly vocationally oriented system, followed by at least two, mainly learning, years in the Factory School or its equivalent. Despite considerable efforts to overtake what was generally seen in the West as the success of the DDR system during the '60s and '70s, the so-called 'defects Report' of 1978 indicated continuing "cultural chaos" owing to the split responsibilities for vocational education and training as between the various Länder on the one hand and the employers and other bodies on the other. However it seems likely that the West has caught up in terms of technical education; the recent influx of immigrants from the DDR into West Berlin has shown considerable retraining and updating needs on their part for purposes of employment in the West.

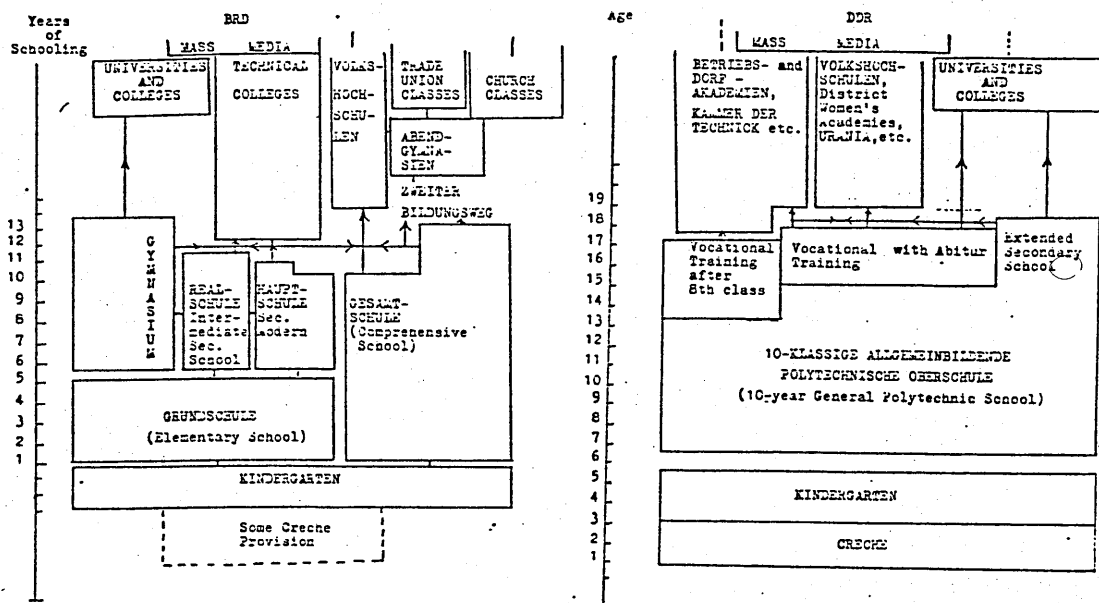


Fig 4.7 DDR and BRD Educational Systems Compared

BRD

AGE

DDR

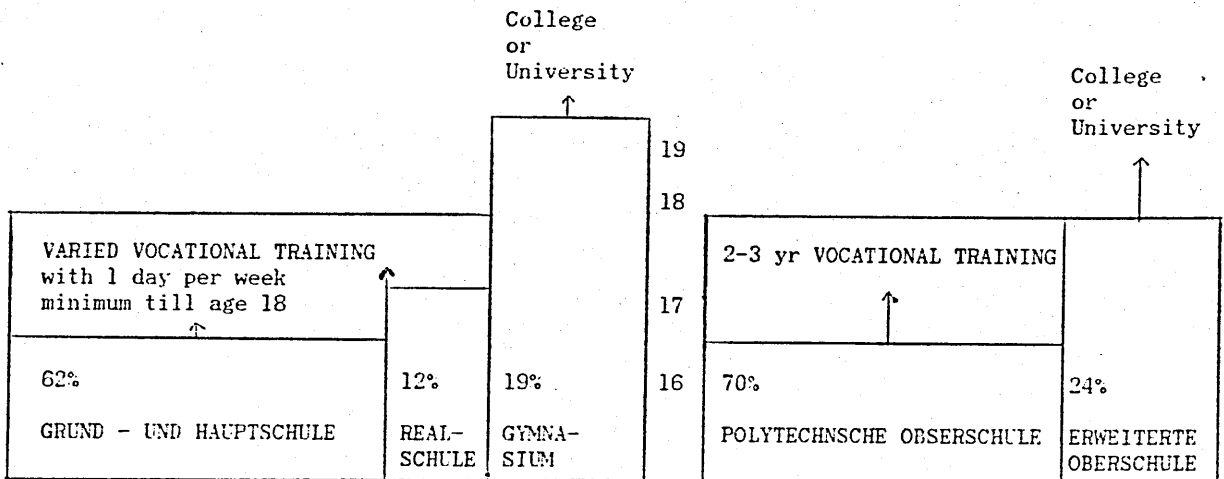


Fig 4.8 Participation in Initial Education in the DDR and BRD (collated from various sources, particularly Schmelzer 'Adult Education in the German Democratic Republic', Prague, 1978 and 'Bildung und Wissenschaft' 11/12(e), Bonn, 1981)

- Beyond initial education then, there is clearly a virtually universal progress into intensive mainly vocational education and training in the DDR on the one hand, while in the BRD post-school training is highly variable, depending on local facilities and frequently consisting of the minimum of one day per week of day release. There is considerably greater need in terms of 'Chancengleichheit' therefore for second chance opportunities for adults in the BRD than in the DDR. These opportunities exist in growing abundance - including opportunities through the broadcast media. But in comparing such second chance opportunities it must be borne in mind that their greater richness in the BRD exists as a consequence of rather poorer 'first chance' opportunities in terms of overall participation, than in the DDR. Because of the lack of strong Federal co-ordination, opportunities in the BRD are also extremely uneven in different areas.
- The continuing emphasis on the importance of political and

vocational education in the DDR means that there are considerable incentives to carry on beyond the obligatory two or three years period of post-school education. Schmelzer estimated one in four of the working population was involved in adult education of some kind in 1978.²⁷ This may reasonably be compared with the BRD estimate of 18% of the 18-65 age range at approximately the same period.²⁸ If one bears in mind however that the BRD figures related to enrolment in courses while DDR estimates almost certainly include those attending Urania and similar occasional lectures or educational visits, then it can fairly be assumed that there is considerable similarity in overall participation in adult education at around one in five in any one year.

Content

As indicated above, initial education in the two Germanies may be characterised generally as being strongly vocational in the DDR system, but much more academic in nature in the BRD. Both place a rather stronger emphasis on political education than in Britain and most other countries of Western Europe, though with contrasting emphasis of aim and content. In the DDR it is part of their overall goal of developing the socialist personality; in the BRD on the other hand, it is concerned with education for democratic participatory forms of government and to safeguard against any future resurgence of totalitarianism in German society. At the post-16 stage there is a continuing emphasis on vocational education in the DDR even for those aiming for higher education; while in the BRD a marked divide appears at that stage between the latter and the academically less ambitious. There is found in the BRD at this stage a highly variable (though steadily improving) provision of vocationally orientated curricula for Hauptschule and

Realschule leavers, while for Abiturienten the pursuit of academic excellence along traditional lines is the rule.

The succeeding stages of education, including 'second chance' opportunities both vocational and more broadly academic, are characterised in both countries by a great range and variety of content meeting a multitude of social, institutional and personal needs. Once again, exact comparison is difficult because indicators are never published in directly comparable forms. But a comparison in general terms is possible. Both countries recognise a sphere of 'Weiterbildung' covering virtually all of post-19 education not catered for by full-time higher and professional education taking place in colleges, and universities. The contrast noted at earlier levels becomes yet more marked however, with regard to the relative emphasis placed on the vocational element in this sphere. In the DDR, while there is generous second chance provision for adults, there is a distinct emphasis on the needs of those unable to acquire the vocational skills demanded in present-day employment because of shortcomings in their initial education. In describing the content of Weiterbildung in the DDR, Poggoda indeed categorises the three major spheres (apart from the quite separate systems operated by the SED Party and the trade unions) as:

1. Systematic post-school general education (organised by the state)
2. Vocational further training (organised by the state); and
3. Multivalent further training (organised by social forces).²⁹

The 'social forces' referred to are roughly equivalent to what in Britain would be called voluntary organisations, though in the DDR they would in most cases be state-supported.

In the BRD, as has been noted, there is considerable variation between the various Länder here as in other sectors of education. However the Act on Weiterbildung of Rheinland-Pfalz of 1978 may be taken as representative (though not all Länder have such explicit statements on record). This Act indicates the content of Weiterbildung as covering the following spheres:

- personality development
- education towards familyhood
- leisure oriented education
- vocationally oriented education
- political education.³⁰

Bavaria sets a high priority on 'deepening, refreshing and broadening one's school/vocational education',³¹ at this stage; and Nordrhein Westfalen on scientific education. But it seems likely that there would be few disagreements amongst the Länder about principles as regards content and that the considerable differences which exist in practice relate more to particular local needs and deficiencies - as for example in the need to upgrade semi-skilled workers in rural Bavaria. It should also be noted that throughout the Länder systematic general education plays a larger part in actual programmes than descriptions such as that of Rheinland-Pfalz might indicate. In general it may be said that while both countries show some broadening of the content of education relevant to the more complex needs of adults in the '80s, the DDR achieves this adequately only in vocationally related areas and the BRD only in the more formal aspects of general and foreign language education.

The Volkshochschulen

The differing roles of these institutions in each country are also

significant. As Fig 4.9 indicates they are in each case important components of the national adult education system. The total number of institutions per head of the population is similar, as is the number of full-time professional staff employed. Even their local character and support system is similar to some extent, though much more marked in the BRD, where some 40% of these institutions are run by registered associations, not by the local authorities.

There is a marked contrast however in the relatively smaller participation in the DDR due largely to the extent of the factory and other enterprise-based adult education there. In spite of the fact that DDR Volkshochschulen are therefore apparently fulfilling what is in some respects a 'gap-plugging' role, they do not seem to see this as an opportunity to be adventurous in terms of either curricula or methodology, but prefer rather to concentrate on second chance general education and aspects of vocational education not covered elsewhere - particularly stenography and typewriting.

	BRD	DDR
Number of institutions	950	220
Per head of adult population	1 per 65,000	1 per 77,000
Methods	Varied, includes seminars, visits, study circles etc	Largely formal
Total participation per year	5 million	150,000
Full-time staff	In towns over 50,000	Principal in each centre (usually others)
Curricula	Wide spectrum from personal and cultural to certificate courses	
School Certificates	10%	28%
Foreign Language	26%	12%
All others	64%	60%
(Including Admin and Commercial Practice, the Arts, Educational Philosophy and Parent-craft, Maths, Science, DIY and other practical work, Health, Hygiene and Physical Fitness)		(Including mainly Stenography and Typewriting)

Fig 4.9 Volkshochschulen in the DDR and BRD (Figures for 1978-80 compiled from 'Bildung und Wissenschaft' 12(e), Bonn, 1981 and 'Adult Education in the German Democratic Republic' Schmelzer (ed), Prague, 1978.)

CONCLUSIONS

This overview of the two educational systems shows then much divergence along ideological lines as one would expect. The selection process begins much earlier in the BRD system with its five main types of school, while a virtually uniform system persists in the DDR in the 10-year General Polytechnic. Formal academic emphases persist in the BRD, while a strongly vocational emphasis pervades the DDR system. Above all, the general goals of DDR education are overtly related to socialist collectivist ideals, while the pluralist system of the BRD demonstrates the greatest variety of goals and types of institution.

On the other hand, the Volkshochschulen remain as important institutions in both countries with strong local roots along traditional lines. Political education figures largely in the curricula of both countries. A strongly pragmatic approach to the meeting of national needs is clear in both countries and has helped the BRD for example to catch up in recent years on the lead in vocational education gained by the DDR in the '50s and '60s.

In general, in terms of our thesis, this broad survey of the two systems of education and particularly adult education would seem to reveal rather more arguments so far, for divergence than for continuity. One might expect this result when dealing with overall structures however, as a strongly centralised state is likely to be able to bring about change at that level rather easily. It is in the detail of what actually happens within particular parts of the system that one might rather expect to find the deeper-rooted continuities of culture and educational tradition.

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CHAPTER FIVE

BROADCASTING IN THE TWO GERMANIES

While the focus of this study is on adult education, and not the general development of broadcasting in Germany, it is nevertheless a fundamental assumption of the study that all broadcasting (for better or worse) influences significantly the growth and learning of listeners and viewers. It is therefore impossible to gain a clear idea of the educational uses made of these media in any country without understanding the ideologies and policies behind general programming, as well as the structures which give it shape. The following two Chapters attempt to sketch that general background in outline and to present a more specific comparative study of educative programming during the past five years.

1. The Common Origins

The early development of radio owed much technically to the German physicist Hertz. The Imperial Government of the 1890's and 1900's also played a leading European role in developing laws to govern the use of the airwaves. More specifically they were concerned to keep what was seen primarily as an important device for military and naval use under strict Government control. A law of 1891 gave to the State exclusive rights in wire and wireless telegraphy and also telephone communication. Fifteen years later it was Germany which convened in Berlin the first meeting to allocate electromagnetic waves for radio amongst the twenty-seven countries represented. Nevertheless when Germany came, during the difficult post-war years, to set up a regular broadcasting system, there were at least as many problems as in other countries in establishing a system attracting wide support amongst Federal and State

Governments as well as amongst the various commercial interests and in society generally - not least amongst the keen band of amateur radio enthusiasts, frequently ex-army and navy personnel.

There was never any real danger that the sort of 'chaos of the airwaves' already developing in America* would occur in Germany - Government control over all communications was too firmly established for that to happen. Neither was the British solution of a single unified system one which could find ready acceptance, in the politically and culturally highly diversified federal system of Weimar Germany. A figure who was in some ways a German equivalent of Lord Reith did appear however, who succeeded in evolving a reasonable compromise between these conflicting interests, and in forging a broadcasting system which, to a considerable extent survived the years of Nazi and then Allied control to become the foundation of the highly successful systems in the two Germanies today. Widely recognised as the 'Father of German Broadcasting', Dr Hans Bredow was a scientist who had played an important part in the technical development of radio during the War, and later became a State Secretary in the Reichspost Ministry with special responsibility for radio communications.

For technical reasons it was necessary to have at least eight main transmitters to cover the entire country - otherwise potential listeners would have been obliged to buy very expensive receivers to pick up a central transmission. Bredow, in the words of a present day director of broadcasting, "made a cultural-political virtue out of this technical necessity, and thus succeeded in overcoming the resistance of the Land

* By October 1922 - a full year before the first regular broadcast transmission in Germany - there were over 500 transmitters operating in America.

governments."¹ It was only however after a sharp final skirmish with the military over licensing of private receivers (won by agreeing to restrict them to the 250-700m wavebands) that Bredow was finally able to launch the new 'Bezirksrundfunk' or regionally organised broadcasting system.

It was, appropriately enough, the Berlin studio which gained the honour of transmitting the first regular broadcast in Germany - a one hour concert from a tiny studio in the Potsdamer Strasse at 8.00 pm on 29th October 1923. The commercial company first granted the privilege of using the transmitters owned and controlled by the Federal Authorities was called 'Berliner Radio-Stunde AG' and the others with their dates and places of opening were as follows:

Mitteldeutsche Rundfunk AG	Leipzig	2nd March	1924
Deutsche Stunde in Bayern GmbH*	Munich	30th March	1924
Sudwestdeutsche Rundfunkdienst AG	Frankfurt	1st April	1924
Nordische Rundfunk AG	Hamburg	2nd May	1924
Suddeutsche Rundfunk AG	Stuttgart	12th May	1924
Schlesische Funkstunde AG	Breslau	26th May	1924
Ostmarken Rundfunk AG	Konigsberg	14th June	1924
Westdeutsche Funkstunde AG	Munster	10th October	1924

In spite of earlier reservations about a nationwide service, or possibly because of fast improving technology, a tenth, national, broadcasting company 'Deutsche Welle GmbH' began its service from Berlin on 17th January 1926. Income from a tax on receivers was divided equally between the Post Office and the Companies to finance this system (though in these years of galloping inflation, the rate was established as "25 marks, multiplied by the appropriate multiple valid for external telegrams on the date of payment"!).

* AG denotes a public limited company, GmbH a private limited company.

Of primary importance for this study however is the content of the programmes eventually transmitted by the system this established. What policy discussions preceded programme planning? What principles were laid down by the various Reichspost orders as regards programme balance, or the overall aims of broadcasting as a part of the nation's communication system? In fact, little public discussion of issues of this kind appears to have taken place; and it is surprisingly quite certain that neither the Reich nor Land Parliaments were involved in any of the decision making, which was all accomplished 'auf dem Verwaltungsweg' (through administrative channels). What is clear from Bredow's public pronouncements of the time is that he was as eager as Reith to keep his new service free of political influence. His way of achieving this aim was however - perhaps inevitably in the unsettled political circumstances of his time - vastly different from that of Reith. He sought to keep free of political entanglements by virtually banning all reporting of the changing political scene. In contrast to Reith's guiding aims of "information, education and entertainment", Bredow's stated aims were "recreation, entertainment and variety . . . and to bring some excitement and joy into the lives of the German people . . . for a joyless people will lose their eagerness for work".²

Bredow had his roots in the radio industry, so may have been considerably influenced by commercial interests in his emphasis on the musical and entertainment side of programming. However his achievement in maintaining the freedom of German broadcasting from political manipulation for partisan purposes for the first nine years of its existence must not be under-rated. In 1926 he was appointed the first Commissioner for Broadcasting at the head of the newly established 'Reichs Rundfunk Gesellschaft' (National Broadcasting Organisation) a

supervisory body somewhat similar in aims and structures to the British Independent Broadcasting Authority of today. In the same year, listening figures exceeded one million for the first time. Two years later the 5th Great German Radio Exhibition in Berlin saw some of the earliest experimental television transmissions.

By 1932, however, continuing conflict between commercial, Land and other interests, had compelled von Papen's Government to bring broadcasting firmly under state control by ousting the private companies and establishing a more powerful RRG with 51% Reich, and 49% Land representation. As Diederichs points out, though possibly undertaken with the best of democratic intentions, this move in fact simplified Hitler's later takeover.³ The von Papen Government's intentions moreover were not shown in a particularly good light by their appointment of a second Commissioner to work with Bredow in the field of political and news broadcasting. In 1933 there followed anyway the rise to power of Hitler, and his 'Ordinance on the Reform of German Radio' placing broadcasting under the control of Goebbels's 'Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda'. 'Deutsche Welle' and the provincial companies were quickly dissolved, Bredow dismissed from office, and programming for the next twelve years was to be entirely devoted to proclaiming the aims of the Third Reich by means of a masterly use of new propaganda techniques, which will be discussed later in this Chapter. For the next twelve years, culture, information, rationality itself were to be admitted to broadcasting only in so far as they served the aim of moulding an entire people in the deluded image of the Nazi ideal.

2. The Development of Broadcasting in West Germany Today

What is surprising indeed is the way in which Weimar principles of regional autonomy in broadcasting survived these years to reappear after the war (in the West at least) in the system established under the guidance of the occupying allied powers. Surprisingly also, despite the ravages of war, the old transmitting network remained largely intact and it was from the former broadcasting centres of Hamburg, Munich, Berlin, Frankfurt, Stuttgart and Cologne that the various Allied systems started up during the four months following the end of hostilities. To them had been added Bremen, Koblenz and Baden-Baden by March of 1946. There followed a fairly swift and smooth handover to German personnel in all three sectors, though in the British zone Hugh Carleton Greene remained formally director of Nordwestdeutscher Rundfunk until November 1948. The 'Basic Law' of the new Federal Republic established in May 1949 left cultural and educational matters firmly under the control of the Lander and made no more specific provision for broadcasting than the general statement that 'the media will be free'. By that time there were already six broadcasting organisations each serving one or more Länder: Bayerischer Rundfunk, Hessischer Rundfunk, Nordwestdeutscher Rundfunk, Radio Bremen, Süddeutscher Rundfunk and Südwestfunk. During the following seven years Nordwestdeutscher Rundfunk split up into two more regionally based systems, the Saar territory was reincorporated in the BRD, bringing its own broadcasting company with it, and West Berlin also began its own radio station, so that the present system as shown below was in existence by 1956:

BROADCASTING COMPANY	CENTRE	LAND/LÄNDER SERVED	POP SERVED (in millions)
Bayerischer Rundfunk (BR)	Munich	Bavaria	10.7
Hessischer Rundfunk (HR)	Frankfurt	Hesse	5.4
Norddeutscher Rundfunk (NDR)	Hamburg	Niedersachsen, Schleswig- Holstein and Hamburg	11.7
Radio Bremen (RB)	Bremen	Bremen	0.7
Saarlandischer Rundfunk (SR)	Saarbrücken	Saarland	1.1
Sender Freies Berlin (SFB)	Berlin	West Berlin	2.1
Sddeutscher Rundfunk (SDR)	Stuttgart	North-Eastern part of Baden-Württemberg	6 approx
Sudwestfunk (SWF)	Baden-Baden	South-West Baden-Württemberg and Rheinland-Pfalz	3 approx
Westdeutscher Rundfunk (WDR)	Cologne	Nordrhein-Westfalen	17.1

Fig 5.1 BRD Broadcasting Organisations and their regional bases (1956)

To these were added in 1960 two Federal radio stations both based in Cologne: Deutsche Welle (DW) a shortwave service for overseas listeners; Deutschlandfunk (DLF) a medium and longwave service for Europe with a special focus on DDR; and in 1963 a Federation-wide (but not Federal-controlled) Second Television Service, Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen (ZDF) based in Mainz.

While the various broadcasting organisations were principally engaged in establishing their roots firmly in their respective Länder, they were at the same time making cautious attempts to form some sort of central co-ordinating body. The first proposals were put forward in 1949 by Hans Bredow who had returned to broadcasting by this time as Chairman of the HR Council. His proposals for a central committee of chairmen with oversight of a co-ordinating bureau however, alarmed the Intendants (or Directors) who saw this as a threat to their independence and the possible beginning of an insidious new kind of centralism. Intendants, under the leadership of Adolf Grimme of NWDR won this battle in August 1950 in establishing the Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (ARD) or "Committee of the Public Broadcasting Institutions of the Federal Republic". The

Intendants represented their institutions on this Committee, which had no permanent central organisation and was further guarded from any centralist tendencies by a twice-yearly change of chairman! They met simply to discuss issues of common interest such as programming and legal and technical problems. The ARD now has in fact a central bureau in Bonn, and a number of standing committees of various kinds, but it is of some significance that the practical broadcasters were so determined in those immediately post-war years in their pursuit of their ideal of cultural pluralism.

The centralist-pluralist issue remained a serious and contentious one throughout the fifties and sixties, but the creation of the ARD was followed immediately by a period of steady development, notably in the field of television. NWDR began experimental transmissions in 1950 and regular daily programmes on Christmas Day 1952. The following year a formal agreement was reached to launch the joint television programme Deutsches Fernsehen, with NWDR providing 50% of the programmes, BR 20% and HR, SR and SWF 10% each. Pressures from the Federal Government for a greater say in broadcasting were on the whole resisted over the next few years, with the exception of the launching in 1960 of the External Services, Deutsche Welle and Deutschlandfunk.

A much more contentious issue was that of the second television channel. The debate was first of all the one familiar in Britain concerning commercial television - 'Freies Fernsehen'. But it was greatly complicated by the continuing centralist-pluralist argument. In December 1959 Adenauer turned down an ARD request for the newly available UHF frequency and the Bund instead gave 'Freies Fernsehen' the channel. The Länder however successfully appealed to the Constitutional Court which in February 1961 found broadcasting to be a mainly cultural activity, therefore a matter principally for the Länder to determine. A commercial organisation was not totally ruled out, and the Court laid great stress on making the new system open to all 'socially relevant' forces. But the opportunity for a full-blown commercial organisation on the 'Freies Fernsehen' model was past and it was a very different institution which now emerged from the consultations of the victorious Länder.

Before they produced their plans for the new body, it is of interest to note that the ARD institutions launched their own Second Programme for a brief period on the basis of the argument that contrast was more important than competition. This programme began in June 1961, with the permission of the Länder, and on a strictly limited basis while they considered their plans for a more permanent settlement of the Second Channel question. It ran until 1st April 1963 when ZDF began transmitting, but the possibility (if it ever existed) of 'contrast' winning over 'competition' disappeared long before that date of 1st December 1961 when the Länder founded a new institution, Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen (ZDF - or Second German Television). The existing broadcasting institutions lost their monopoly from that date.

The new body shared the general constitutional form of the existing establishments in having a tripartite system of government and control:

1. a Broadcasting Council (Fernsehrat) which has the duty of ensuring that the principle and guidelines of the institution are observed;
2. an Administrative Council (Verwaltungsrat) which is a smaller business management body; and
3. an Intendant who is responsible for programme output and the general running of the institution.

ZDF differed from others however in having a much wider representation on its governing bodies and also in not belonging to the ARD. In addition to one representative from each Land, the Fernsehrat has three Federal representatives and twelve further political representatives appointed directly by the various parties (currently six from SPD, four CDU and one each from FDP and CSU), five from churches, nine representing trade unions, employers and other commercial and industrial interests and a further 24 representing a variety of sport, welfare and cultural interests.

Four other major developments may be mentioned in this brief historical perspective before going on to describe the BRD broadcasting system as it exists today:

1. Between September 1964 and April 1969 the ARD network gradually established a Third Programme with the specific brief of catering for the interests of minority groups through the provision of cultural and educational programmes.
2. In January 1966 a joint ARD-ZDF programme aimed at East Germany began transmitting. 'Redaktion Vormittagsprogramm' is administered by SFB on behalf of the other organisations and transmits selections from their output between 10.00 am and 1.00 pm each day,

not only from SFB, but from BR and HR transmitters adjacent to the frontier.

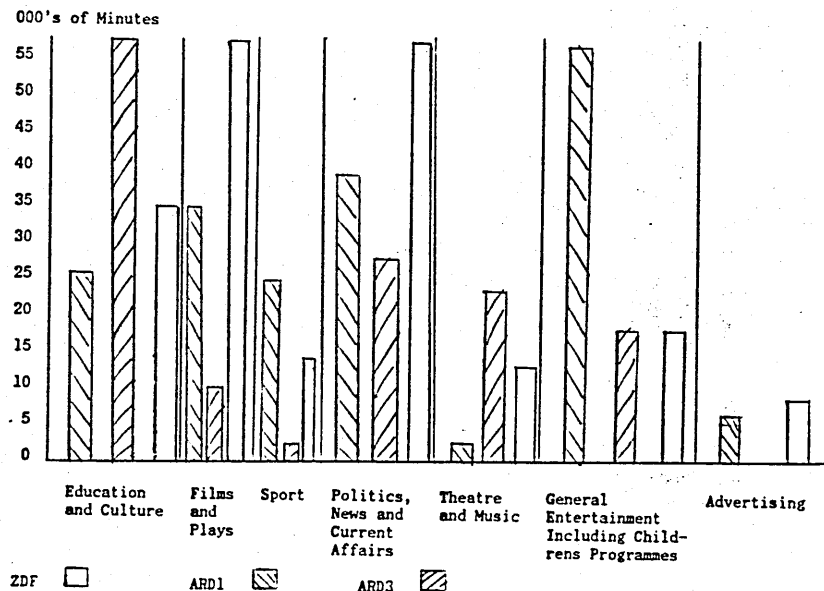
3. Colour was introduced in August 1967.
4. From the beginning of 1976, the broadcasting institutions took over from the Post Office the collection and disbursement of radio and television licence fees. They were able to present a convincing case for the rationalisation of this process, now carried out by an organisation run jointly by ARD and ZDF - the 'Verwaltungsgemeinschaft Gebühreneinzugszentrale (GEZ)' or Administration for Central Licence Fee Collection.

BRD Broadcasting Today - The Television Services

It will be clear even from the above rather simplified outline of the complex development of television services in the BRD that there should be scope for considerable regional variety in the material offered by the ARD and the First and Third Programmes. The First Programme starts each weekday (except for those within range of the 'Vormittagsprogramm' transmitters aimed at the DDR) with children's programmes and a news bulletin between 1615 and 1800 hours. From 1800-2000 there then comes the Regional Programme period when the various stations present to their regional viewers local news, sport and other items of local interest, but may also include more children's programmes or general entertainment. First Programme viewers come together again at 2000 to finish the evening with a broadly popular programme consisting mainly of films, plays and popular music or comedy. There is a fairly sharp contrast in most regions between the First and Third Programmes, the latter frequently appearing to become a cultural ghetto area, catering for specific minority tastes. These tastes, it should be noted however, may frequently include 'pop culture' items like a jazz festival or a

Marx Brothers movie. But there is little doubt that for the average viewer and most of the time the "Drittes Programm" has connotations not too unlike those the old BBC radio Third Programme used to have for British listeners. The general pattern of programming consists of school programmes during the day, adult education in the early and late evening and films, documentaries, current affairs and 'high culture' items such as ballet, during peak viewing time.

ZDF has to provide a balanced programme on one channel, and has therefore a much more familiar look to a British viewer. It might indeed be characterised fairly as BBC1 with advertising. Its general weekday pattern consists of an early evening mix of adult education and children's programmes, followed by a peak hour offering consisting of a fairly well balanced mix of entertainment, information and broadly educative programmes. The contrasting figures given below indicate more precisely the character of the three BRD television Channels in a typical year's output.



BR is taken here as a reasonably typical example - but there are considerable regional Third Programme differences.

Fig 5.2 BRD Television Transmission by Broad Programme Category ('000s of minutes) (Adapted from ARD and ZDF Yearbooks for 1980) (See Appendix 5 for raw scores)

BRD Radio Services

All the Land broadcasting organisations provide three contrasting radio programmes - though the small SFB and RB stations make only minimal use of their third channel with their programmes for immigrants. Radio One is for all of the Nine a 'flagship' programme aiming a balanced programme of middle-of-the-road music and information at the main housewife/senior citizen/shift worker audience by day and continuing through the night with a shared popular music programme. Another channel (the third for NDR, WDR and SF, the second for the other six) is directed at more minority interests with an emphasis on classical music, while the remaining channel is used generally to combine 'easy listening' (mainly popular music) with round-the-clock information for drivers. These latter service items incidentally are preceded throughout the BRD by a signal which switches a suitably equipped car radio/cassette player from cassette to radio for the duration of the message. DLF provides nationwide service which is not unlike ZDF in that it offers a balanced programme of information, entertainment and music to suit a variety of tastes. DW provides a comprehensive shortwave overseas service mainly in the languages of the countries to which programmes are directed.

It is of interest to note that while most of these programmes include, like television, some advertising, NDR and WDR do not make use of this method of revenue earning. All radio in the BRD suffers from serious financial problems however, and considerable and growing use is made of programme sharing arrangements in order to economise. The Table shown below illustrates the programme-mix of two typical services, as well as DLF by way of contrast.

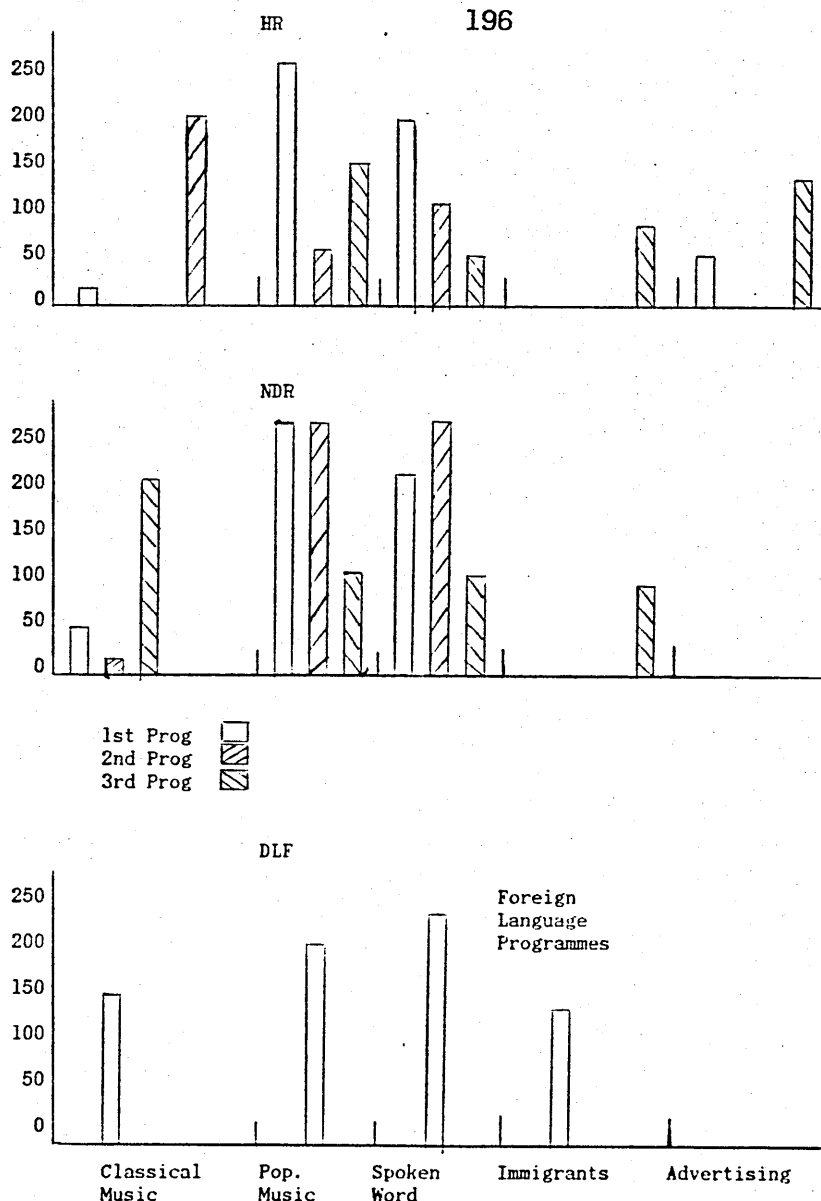


Fig 5.3 The radio programme-mix in the BRD (adapted from ARD and ZDF Yearbooks for 1980) (See Appendix 5 for raw scores)

Finance and Control

Both ARD and ZDF rely mainly on the Licence fee (currently 10 DM per month for television and 4 DM for radio) for their revenue. This is collected as explained above directly by these bodies through the GEZ and distributed in the ratio of 30% to ZDF and 70% divided proportionately amongst the ARD organisations. The total income generated from this source in 1977 was 1,618 million DM for television and 720 million DM for radio. The ARD network received 1,133 million DM (television) and of course the entire radio income. ZDF received 485 million DM. Advertising is permitted on both radio and television and

is extremely important to ZDF with its rather weak financial basis. ZDF is just beginning to make headway in a long running battle with the Federal Government over the taxation of this revenue, which now accounts for some 39% of its income (329 million DM in 1977); whereas only 6% of ARD's television revenue comes from this source (71 million) and a mere 3 1/2% of radio revenue (26 million). From this income ARD organisations must provide not only their own regional programmes, but also their portion of the shared output. This may in the case of television range from as little as 3% for SR to as much as 25% for WDR. Organisations must make up in cash for failure to provide due programme time. Though intended to be much more of a local or regional voice than television, radio is in fact increasingly adopting similar programme sharing arrangements because of its ever-growing financial problems.

If radio and television in the BRD are relatively free from undue commercial influence on programme content, their situation with regard to political influence and indeed pressure is less secure. It is probably overstating the case to compare broadcasting in West Germany with the former French system, as does Professor Stephen Holt, in claiming that even if there is not that formal control by government nevertheless 'In Germany . . . politicians as a class are moving into this position'. In the same work a 'Die Zeit' article is quoted as saying 'Slowly but surely state broadcasting is establishing itself here after the repulsive example of the French ORTF'.⁴ These rather alarmist statements did not appear to be wholly justified either by observation of programme output or by study of the usually rather successful struggles over the post-war years by both broadcasters and public alike to maintain broadcasting freedoms. The victory of the Intendants in 1950 against the attempts of Bredow to establish central control; and of

broadcasters and public together over Adenauer in his 1961 attempt to found a commercial television organisation, indicated the effectiveness of the Federal Basic Law concerning the freedom of the media of that time. It has continued to be tested in more recent times, most notably in 1972 when the Bavarian Landtag attempted to change the composition of the Rundfunkrat to give greater weight to formal (party) political representation. The result was the formation of a 'Burgerkomitee fur Rundfunkfreiheit' (Citizens' committee for the freedom of Broadcasting) which became the focus of a highly successful campaign to oppose the Landtag. The ultimate result was in fact a bill firmly enshrining broadcasting freedoms by limiting political representation on the Rundfunkrat to one third.

Even where the Rundfunkrat is appointed by the Landtag - as in the case of NDR and WDR - the system of delegated power affords considerable protection to the broadcasters. The Rundfunkrat appoints the Verwaltungsrat which in turn appoints the powerful Intendant. Membership of the two councils is mutually exclusive. Other pressure groups, formal and informal, have arisen, as for example the 'Freundeskreise' or 'Friends of Broadcasting Circles'. In the case of ZDF, Williams considers that "their activities effectively close the gap between the basically pluralistic ZDF and the parliamentary NDR and WDR".⁵ Power distribution on party lines extends to appointments to senior posts including programme directors, editors-in-chief, and above all of course the Intendant. There is however a current interesting tendency in HR to oppose such political appointments, and to appoint a so-called 'grey' Intendant.

In this atmosphere it is natural that programme balance or

Ausgewogenheit is an issue continually in the forefront of party political debate with a continuous pressure on broadcasters to give equal exposure to all parties. A strong internal opposition to these pressures amongst broadcasters has resulted in the movement for 'Innere Rundfunkfreiheit' and in the production of Codes and Directives to guide programme producers, such as the BR 'Dienstanweisung' (Directive) or the ZDF 'Leitordnung' (guiding rules). However flagship current affairs programmes such as NDR's 'Panorama' and ZDF's 'Magazine' do tend to reflect fairly clearly the prevailing party political influences in their respective organisations.

This is very much a live issue in West Germany, as is clearly illustrated by the dissension which periodically threatens to split NDR apart. The three Länder it serves - Niedersachsen, Hamburg and Schleswig Holstein - differ widely in political complexion and their differences have on occasion blown up into threats from Niedersachsen and Schleswig Holstein to withdraw from NDR and set up their own broadcasting organisations, with dire consequences for the stability of the entire ARD network.⁶ So in general, it is undoubtedly true that politicians would very much like to have greater influence on the powerful media of broadcasting. The system of delegated authority does however seem to work reasonably well in protecting the broadcasters; and as Williams comments ". . . it may be that parliamentary influence is a self-cancelling influence which leaves the broadcasters more scope to get on with the job of producing the programme".⁷

Broadcasting in the DDR Today

Politically and ideologically, there was of course a much sharper break with the past in the DDR in 1945 and the general practice in the early

years of its post-war development of basing its structures closely on Soviet models meant that broadcasting continued under strict political control during the Soviet occupation and after, and that there was no return, as in the West, to anything resembling the pre-Nazi Weimar system. It is misleading however to make the contrast simply in terms of central versus decentralised control. It must be remembered that of the old Weimar broadcasting regions, the DDR lost the former 'Schlesische Funkstunde' territory to Poland, and the old 'Ostmarken Rundfunk' area to Poland and Russia. The territory left to the new republic was therefore very nearly that covered by the old 'Berliner Radio-Stunde AG', so a single broadcasting service for a territory no larger than Bavaria and Baden-Wurttemberg combined, and a population no larger than that of North Rhine Westphalia, made considerable sense; and in fact as will be seen, considerable regional 'opt-out' broadcasting was eventually established. As in all Communist states, political control of broadcasting has been built into the system since its inception.

Radio broadcasting was resumed in East Germany on 13th May 1945, only five days after the war ended. Television began on an experimental basis in 1952, and regular transmissions started in January 1956. After an initial period of control by a State Broadcasting Committee, reorganisation from September 1968 divided control of radio and television between the State Radio Committee of the Council of Ministers and the State Television Committee of the Council of Ministers.⁸ Compared with the complexity of broadcasting structures in the BRD, DDR broadcasting is therefore structured in a starkly simple way, with separate institutions each responsible for both production and transmission in their own spheres, and each receiving its authority from

the powerful Council of Ministers via its appropriate Committee.

Radio

There are five distinct programmes broadcast from Radio DDR in Berlin, which together with eleven early morning 'opt-out' regional programmes represent a considerable breadth of output:

1. DDR1 is the principal 'flagship' programme, broadcasting a balanced mix of news, music and magazine programmes for the general listener 24 hours per day.
2. DDR2 offers educational programmes and serious music; and its VHF wavelengths are taken over roughly between 5.00 and 10.00 am by the regional programmes of Leipzig, Halle/Magdeburg, Dresden, Karl-Marx-Stadt, Weimar/Gera/Suhl, Schwerin, Neubrandenburg, Cottbus, Frankfurt an der Oder, Potsdam and the special DDR-Ferienwelle (holiday-programme) from the coastal resort of Rostock. Though termed 'regional' programmes these are really services more nearly approaching local radio in British terms.
3. Stimme der DDR (Voice of DDR) is aimed largely at the 'other' Germany across the border and contains much news and comment on foreign and German affairs within a popular format not unlike that of DDR1.
4. Berliner Rundfunk is a programme specially designed for the needs of the capital with a special emphasis on youth.
5. Radio Berlin International (RBI) is a shortwave world service of news and information in several languages.

'Rundfunk der DDR' operates its own transmitters which comprise 15 VHF, two shortwave, 17 medium wave and one long wave transmitter, on 67 frequencies. The general pattern of output is shown by the following analysis of the four main programmes, together with one typical regional

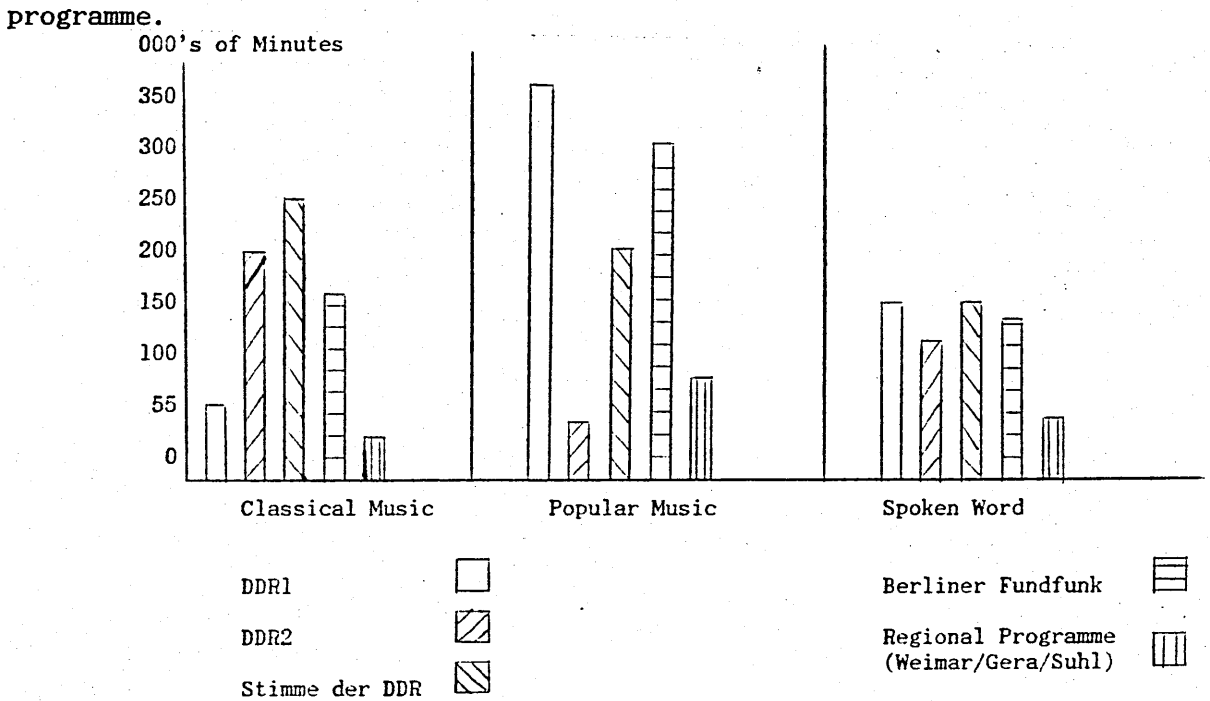


Fig 5.4 DDR Radio output (compiled from 'FF Dabei' 1978) (See Appendix 5 for raw scores)

Radio Berlin International broadcasts over 330 hours per week in some twelve languages, and is steadily developing in particular its programmes aimed at the many African countries with which the DDR either has or wishes to foster close ties.

Television

Since the first test broadcasts from the Berlin-Adlershof studios on 21st December 1952, DDR Television has developed fairly rapidly considering the technical difficulties with which it has had to contend owing to the lack of a video equipment industry in the DDR and the shortage of foreign currency for buying Western equipment. Most non-live programmes are still recorded on film, largely for this reason, though the existence of the very healthy film production centre in the old UFA studios in Babelsberg is also relevant. Growth over these years in the various programme areas is shown in the following Table.⁹

	1955	1960	1965	1970	1972
Current politics, 'reportages'	74	566	742	1,208	1,118
Agricultural broadcasts	1	91	83	67	54
Economics, science, education	10	181	246	483	588
Dramatic art, cultural policy	189	454	210	438	410
Music, dance and entertainment	97	441	452	648	553
Children's and youth programmes	53	330	347	511	414
Sports	23	455	463	730	1,044
Feature and documentary films	307	403	740	1,412	1,646

Fig 5.5 DDR TV output, 1955-1972 (from a 'Panorama' press release, Berlin, 1976)

There are now two channels, called simply the 'First Programme' and the 'Second Programme'. The First Programme transmits throughout the day, and during the morning and afternoon carries both schools and general service programmes. The Second Programme takes over some of the youth and adult education programmes when it begins in the early evening, but includes also general cultural current affairs and other programmes. Both Channels now transmit mainly in colour. An analysis of the programmes according to the broad categories used for BRD Television is given below.

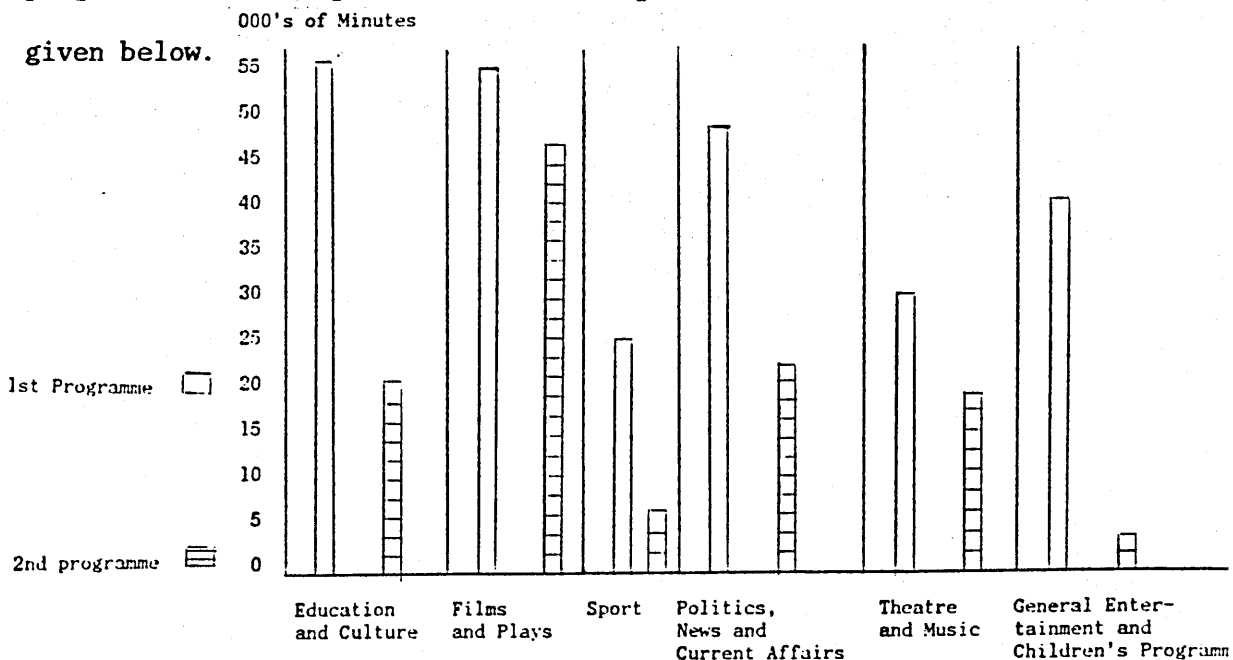


Fig 5.6 TV Programme by Broad Programme Category in DDR (1978 figures compiled from 'FF Dabei') (See Appendix 5 for raw scores)

Finance

Detailed facts and figures about finance and organisational structures in DDR broadcasting are difficult to obtain. It seems likely however that the combined television and radio licence fee of 10.50 M must give total revenue of some 120,000,000 M per year divided between the separate radio and television organisations. This takes into account the relatively large proportion of free licence given in the DDR to the elderly and others - some 12% of licences as compared to only 1% in the BRD. As in the West, economies are made by programme sharing through 'Intervision', the East European equivalent of the West's 'Eurovision'. An increasing number of 'Eurovision' programmes are also being taken by DDR TV, BBC wildlife programmes being particularly popular.

It is nevertheless obvious that, unless there is considerable extra funding available from Government (and this would seem unlikely in view of the stringent economy practiced generally in DDR public bodies) DDR Radio and TV have much smaller budgets for production, transmission and administration, than their counterparts in the West with their access to advertising revenue. It is therefore worth noticing that the relatively straitened circumstances of DDR broadcasting have not led in general to noticeably smaller scale or more modest productions. Many of the films specially made for TV by DEFA (the successor to UFA) are excellent and are sold in the West - to the BBC amongst others. Economies are made instead by a system of repeats exceeding in frequency what would be considered normal in Western Europe. These are occasionally on the same Channel, but it is a more common practice to repeat educational or documentary programmes on the other Channel either later in the same day, or on the following day.

Ideologies of Broadcasting

In contrast to the situation in the English-speaking world, broadcasting in Germany has from its beginnings in the twenties, come under the light of sharp and explicit ideological commentary and criticism. While this is not the place for a detailed review, some notion of the importance of explicit and competing ideologies in the development of German broadcasting is necessary as an introduction to later discussion of broadcasting policies in the two Germanies today. While American broadcasting 'just grew' and UK and much of Commonwealth broadcasting developed under the very general Reithian guidelines of its public accountability to inform, educate and entertain, in Germany strong ideological battle-lines were drawn at an early stage.

Early Left Influence

In the troubled aftermath of the First World War, these were indeed actual physical battle-lines. The left-wing Labour movement through its Soldiers' and Workers' Councils had for a time control of the important military radio installations, and used this network to broadcast news of the progress of the Revolution. Their defeat by the Freikorps forces in the civil war that raged during the first three months of 1919 brought all radio firmly under the control of the predominantly right-wing Post Office officials. This was seen by the government of the new Weimar Republic specifically as a move to avert Bolshevism in the German radio system, and as a victory for democracy. In reality, as Barraclough notes¹⁰ ". . . it was a victory for the Free Corps, for the anti-democratic forces which had come to the rescue of the republic to prevent social change, but which only tolerated the republican government temporarily as the lesser evil". The left-wing movements were under no illusions in this respect. In 1924 the Arbeiter (Workers)

Radio Club issued a manifesto stating that "Through radio, the propertied classes have acquired a new means to influence and educate the working population from their own one-sided view of things. Our aim must be to create our own workers' broadcasting associations. Our next task is to achieve as listeners equality of influence in the existing broadcasting organisations, on the form and content of the programmes".¹¹

In the same year the Arbeiter Radio Press was established to publish books designed to help listeners develop and sharpen their critical judgement. In a statement of its aims the Press said: "Radio enthusiasts must be shown how they are continually offered more brackish water in the form of kitsch, trite popular science, or so-called 'unpolitical' talks. For this reason, every workers' newspaper or journal must have a regular weekly critical column".¹² Their journal the 'Arbeiter-Sender' (literally 'Workers' Transmitter') flourished briefly in the late Twenties and early Thirties until it was banned by the Nazis in 1933. The Arbeiter Radio Press distributed handbills at the time of the banning containing the lines:

Vergiss es keinen Tag, Prolet,
dass hinter deinem Funkgerät,
ob Spiel ob Ernst,
von früh bis spät,
der Gegner deiner Klasse steht!¹³

Do not forget for a single day Proletariat,
That behind your radio speaker,
Whether entertainment or serious matter,
From early till late,
Stands the opponent of your class!

Absolutism of the Right

If in practice the way German radio developed in the Twenties was (as outlined earlier in this Chapter) much more complex and haphazard than

these workers' movements proclaimed it to be, this does not mean that there were not equally powerful theoreticians of the right postulating just such a role for radio as the 'Arbeiter-Sender' feared. Above all there was Adolf Hitler himself, who showed clearly in 'Mein Kampf' his early realisation of the need to distinguish between the sort of information and education needed for the elite few, and the propaganda which must be directed at the masses through the mass media. "Propaganda is no more scientific in its content than a poster is artistic. The art of the poster-designer lies in his ability through form and colour to arouse the attention of the masses . . . whose teachability is limited, their understanding small and their memory short . . . the task of propaganda does not lie in the scientific instruction of individuals, but in directing the attention of the mass towards specific facts, cases, needs etc whose importance should thereby be placed first in the eyes of the multitude".¹⁴ Goebbels, often looked on as the chief originator of propaganda through the modern media of communication, was in fact only following these guidelines when he created the various Chambers of Culture through which he was to exert strict control of the media throughout the years of Nazi rule. Through these 'Kammer' the key elements of Nazi ideology - Volkism, anti-Semitism and the Führerprinzip - were proclaimed through the media to the eventual total exclusion of normal artistic and journalistic freedom; as has been well documented for the Nazi cinema by Jeffrey Richards,¹⁵ and seems to have been equally true for radio even through such detailed evidence as exists for the cinema is unfortunately lacking.

The Frankfurt School

At an academic level, the Frankfurt School of sociological commentary on the mass media served further to highlight overt debate in Germany

about the function of broadcasting in society; and Brecht's writings on the subject may also conveniently be considered for our present purposes in connection with the work of the Frankfurt School. The leading figures of that school, both in Germany and later in America where they fled in the middle Thirties to escape Nazi persecution were Theodore Adorno and Max Horkheimer. Their response to the kind of domination of men's minds by the mass media which they had seen in Nazi Germany and observed in what they considered merely a different form in America was to argue for total rejection of what they called the 'culture industry'. "The whole world is made to pass through the filter of the culture industry . . . The more intensely and flawlessly (the producer's) techniques duplicate empirical objects, the easier it is today for the illusion to prevail that the outside world is the straightforward continuation of that presented on the screen . . . Real life is becoming indistinguishable from the movies. The sound film . . . leaves no room for imagination or reflection on the part of the audience, which is unable to respond within the structure of the film, yet deviate from its precise detail, without losing the thread of the story . . . sustained thought is out of the question if the spectator is not to miss the relentless rush of facts".¹⁶ The remedy proposed by Adorno and Horkheimer was in direct contrast to the Workers' Radio movement suggestions of establishing public control of the media. The Frankfurt School, in the main wrote off the mass media as hopelessly compromised, and saw its role as that simply of opposition through the forging of the critical weapons needed for resistance. Its adherents saw the success of the mass media as resting so firmly on anti-intellectual methods, that there was by definition no possibility of using these same methods to reverse their baneful effects. "When the German Fascists decide one day to launch a word - say, 'intolerable' - over the loudspeakers, the

next day the whole nation is saying 'intolerable' . . . The general repetition of names for measures to be taken by the authorities makes them, so to speak, familiar, just as the brand name on everybody's lips increased sales in the free market . . . All the violence done to words is so vile that one can hardly bear to hear them any longer".¹⁷

One member of the Frankfurt School on the other hand, Walter Benjamin, was strongly influenced by Brecht in arguing rather for the liberating force of modern possibilities of mechanical reproduction to politicise art in the service of revolution.¹⁸ As Brecht himself said "Anybody who advises us not to make use of such new apparatus just confirms the right of the apparatus to do bad work, he forgets himself out of sheer open-mindedness, for he is thus proclaiming his willingness to have nothing but rubbish produced for him . . ." furthermore ". . . the old forms of communication are not unaffected by the development of new ones, nor do they survive alongside them . . . the mechanisation of literary production cannot be thrown into reverse . . ." ¹⁹ Brecht was in fact one of the first to write specifically about ideology and radio. While much of his 'Radio Theorie' written in 1927 contains suggestions that are somewhat impractical, his basic ideas constitute a rationale for broadcasting in the service of the individual listener rather than of institutionalised forces that still has a highly contemporary ring. He called for the transformation of broadcasting "from a distribution system to a communications system . . . not to isolate the listener, but to set him in relationship . . . to organise the listeners as purveyors." Above all, radio must "try to oppose that inconsequentiality which makes most of our public institutions so laughable . . . We have inconsequential educational institutions which endeavour to transmit an education without consequences and itself the

consequence of nothing. All those of our institutions which shape ideology see it as their main task to ensure that the role of ideology is without consequences in accordance with an idea of culture which believes that the development of culture is finished and that culture does not need a continual creative effort". What we need, he concludes is a democracy which ensures that "the mass media become at last media of the masses, for the broadcasting authoritarianism of the State is an anachronism which is suited only to feudal and Fascist regimes".²⁰

After the Second World War, there was of course a distinct parting of the ways as has already been indicated, between the broadcasting systems developed in East and West, with a corresponding divergence in ideology and in broadcasting aims and policies derived from these ideologies. In the West, there was an emphasis on democratic freedoms, with considerable differences of emphasis in the British zone on the one hand, and in the American and French on the other. The Americans wished to see the establishment of independent commercial broadcasting organisations on their own model; and although they found too great resistance to this idea, they so far succeeded in pressing American models, that every Land in which they had influence (including their port of Bremen - a ridiculously small area for anything other than a 'local radio' type of service) established its own separate broadcasting organisation; and some advertising was of course eventually introduced everywhere. In the British Zone, BBC influences were noticeable and eventually percolated throughout the ARD, with the result of the present mixed economy broadcasting described above. The Charter of NDR expresses succinctly the basic programme philosophy which has arisen out of these various influences:

"NDR must ensure its programmes conform to the principles laid down in the constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany. It must take account of the relevant political, scientific and artistic developments. It must respect the moral and religious beliefs of the population and bear in mind the different regional backgrounds of its audiences. Its news broadcasts must be comprehensive, independent, and impartial.

It is NDR's duty to promote international understanding, to advocate peace and social justice, to uphold democratic freedom, and to serve only the truth. It may not be the instrument of any political party or pressure group, religious denomination or ideology".

(Charter of NDR, 10th June 1955)

While later public ideological conflicts in the BRD have sadly come to focus more and more on narrow and unimaginatively construed questions of 'fairness' in the representation of the political parties on radio and television, there is nevertheless a healthy awareness of the importance of debate on broader issues within the broadcasting organisations, as the many excellent ARD and ZDF publications illustrate. The ZDF 'Schriftenreihe' are particularly imaginative in this respect, and a quotation from their 'Television in the Seventies' on the function of the mass media in modern society well illustrates the quality of this continuing debate:

Whether or not they set out to do so, the mass media are becoming substantial shapers of social attitudes; from them, people take their models of 'correct' attitudes and behaviour. There is currently however, a general withdrawal from earlier accepted social attitudes and a general seeking instead for plurality. And plurality means debate, discussion, questioning - finally conflict. The condition of contemporary society is marked by conflict, whether it be between institutions or generations, between differing opinions, views or expectations of behaviour.

These conflicts arise moreover in a society that is to a considerable extent conflict shy. This dislike of conflict is the result of a need for more values and norms, of a wish for stable and accepted rules which men can see in today's social dynamic as well as ever, but usually brush aside . . . television must not offer quick answers to conflict . . . but must develop a plurality of approach which takes seriously the existing social disharmony

and antagonism, and creates the prerequisites for tolerance and social communication.²¹

As has already been pointed out, broadcasting in the DDR comes directly under the control of the State, so there is no question of any conflict of ideologies as in the West. Broadcasting and the other mass media exist to fulfil the aims of the ruling party, the SED. As the Political Bureau of its Central Committee stated in 1972 in its paper 'The Tasks of Agitation and Propaganda in implementing the Decisions of the 8th Congress of the SED': "The richness of life under socialism requires a stirring and mobilising journalistic treatment . . . It is of major importance that the working people themselves, with their ideas, proposals, suggestions and critical views, should be given a say, and that in this way the mass media ever better exercise their function of being a tribune of socialist democracy . . . With the means and methods appropriate to them the mass media help to unfold the creative ideas of the working people, imparting education, culture and knowledge, putting new progressive findings into practice, overcoming shortcomings and inadequacies and thus promoting the formation of the opinions and ability to make judgements on the part of the people".²² A more specific and pointed appreciation of the role of the mass media in society was made by Bisky: "The mass media do not work in isolation, but as elements of our total educational and educative system . . . school, university, professional and family groups, workers collectives, the Free German youth movement . . . all have as great an effect on the development of socialist consciousness as the mass media . . . Marxist-Leninist research . . . seeks to establish scientific foundations for the development of more effective agitation, propaganda and political-ideological education"²³ (through the mass media).

It should be remembered however that the idea of propaganda in the DDR is a very different one to that of Goebbel's Kulturkammer. As J A C Brown has pointed out, "Goebbels' propaganda was deliberately lying, and often inconsistent, whereas Communist propaganda is, broadly speaking, in the light of its doctrine, true - it is its interpretations rather than its facts which repel others".²⁴ In practice, the need to compete with BRD broadcasting also has an undoubted influence on the form and content of radio and television in the DDR, which, compared with the DDR Press in particular, are much less narrowly and obviously propagandistic. A recent example of this relatively liberal policy with regard to viewing and listening habits is the establishment by the State of a local cable television system in the Dresden area to enable viewers (for a connection fee of £124) to receive BRD TV programmes in the one area of the DDR which they did not reach.

Key Points of Comparison

A similar point may be made here as at the end of Chapter Two - that while a detailed comparison of the two broadcasting systems would be inappropriate, certain comparative features are important for later discussion of the particular application of broadcasting to adult education. These may once again best be considered under the headings of Goals, Structures and programming, or Content. While participation (ie viewing and listening figures) would obviously be of great interest, the lack of any such statistics for the DDR (for public consumption at least) makes comparison here impossible.

Overall Goals

As regards overall goals of the two systems then, the contrast may once again be made between the overwhelmingly pluralist goals of the BRD, and

the integrated nature of those of the DDR. However, collaboration within ARD and in particular the increasing financial pressures of recent years encouraging programme sharing have brought about some degree of common purpose amongst the nine Land-based companies of the BRD; and ZDF since its creation in 1963 has maintained a sustained effort to develop explicit goals and objectives to direct its policy and programme making. The ZDF and NDR statements regarding goals on pp211-212 would probably be widely accepted by BRD broadcasters and the various advisory councils, and show significant contrasts to corresponding statements from the DDR. Some key points may usefully be juxtaposed:

BRD		DDR
The NDR must respect the moral and religious beliefs of the people and bear in mind different regional backgrounds . . . it may not be the instrument of any political party or pressure group, religious denomination or ideology.	GENERAL VIEW OF MEDIA	The mass media should ever better exercise their function of being a tribune of socialist democracy.
News broadcasts must be comprehensive, independent and impartial.	NEWS	The richness of life under socialism requires a stirring and mobilising journalistic treatment.
TV must develop a plurality of approach which takes seriously the existing social disharmony and antagonism . . . must not offer quick answers to conflict.	DEALING WITH SOCIAL ISSUES	The mass media . . . help (in) putting new progressive findings into practice, overcoming shortcomings and inadequacies.
NDR must take account of the relevant political, scientific and artistic developments; (and from a more recent NDR statement) NDR has not only today the responsibility to provide information, education and entertainment, but also advice and counselling.	LINKS WITH EDUCATION	The mass media do not work in isolation, but as elements of our total educational and educative system . . . Marxist-Leninist research seeks to establish scientific foundations for the development of more effective agitation, propaganda and political and ideological education (through the mass media).

Fig 5.7 Broadcasting Ideologies Compared

The differences then, are on the whole such as one would expect to find between the mass media systems of a socialist state like the DDR and a pluralist society such as the BRD. One significant point of resemblance may be noted. This is the absence both sides of the border, of any positive statement regarding a broad adult education policy for the mass media of broadcasting. From the West come, most

typically, general statements of goodwill, while the more specific statements from the East link mass media education with narrowly political aims. In general the concept of 'impartiality' would appear to be central in the BRD, while in the DDR the 'mobilising' function of the broadcast media is paramount. There are strengths and weaknesses in each of these concepts which are amply illustrated in the structures, policies and programmes found in the respective systems.

Structure, Control and Programming

Some structural differences follow naturally enough from these divergent goals; others seem to relate less directly. The following are some of the more important features:

BRD	DDR
Land-based systems, except for ZDF, Deutsche Welle and DLF; fair degree of independence through:	National systems; strong Government control through:
Advisory Councils, political balance in staff appointments and tradition of independence under the Intendant once appointed;	Council of Ministers' Committees;
Radio and TV integrated in the ARD companies; DW and DLF, radio only; ZDF, TV only	Separate radio and TV services each under its own Council of Ministers Committee;
Regional rather than local alternatives to national networking apart from a few recent cable TV and local radio developments.	Considerable development of local 'opt-out' radio.

Fig 5.8 Structural Differences

The BRD method of maintaining the independence of broadcasters from political control has brought some attendant problems. The much debated concept of 'Bilanz' appears to take up an undue amount of time and energy and continually bedevils relations between individual ARD

companies in particular and one or other of the political groups in one or other of the Länder. The application of 'Bilanz' to staffing appointments for example often outweighs more relevant considerations, frequently to the detriment of adventurous broadcasting. Bland impartiality may be preferable to the strident party line, but it can often lead to just as bad programme material.

Another relevant point for adult education developments is the way in which a truly local radio, on an 'opt-out' basis comparable to the development of BBC local radio in Scotland for example, may be found in the DDR system, hardly at all in the BRD - the exceptions being the Bremen and West Berlin systems serving their own 'city-states', the commercial local radio in Schlesing Holstein/Hamburg and a few pilot cable TV projects. The increased opportunities for two-way communication make local broadcasting of particular interest for educational and educative developments; and the technological possibilities opened up by the advent of fibre-optic cabling must place local broadcasting and related developments firmly on the agenda of all concerned with increasing educational opportunity through both radio and television. It is therefore somewhat surprising that the technologically more advanced BRD systems are tending rather to move towards 'common denominator' if not 'lowest common denominator' radio (in spite of their pluralist aims) while DDR radio shows considerable effort in its five programmes to serve distinct areas and levels of interesting addition to the eleven morning 'opt-outs'. Radio in other respects as Fig 5.9 indicates, shows considerable overall similarity in the balance between the main types of programming east and west of the border; particularly when one bears in mind the smaller total output from the DDR.

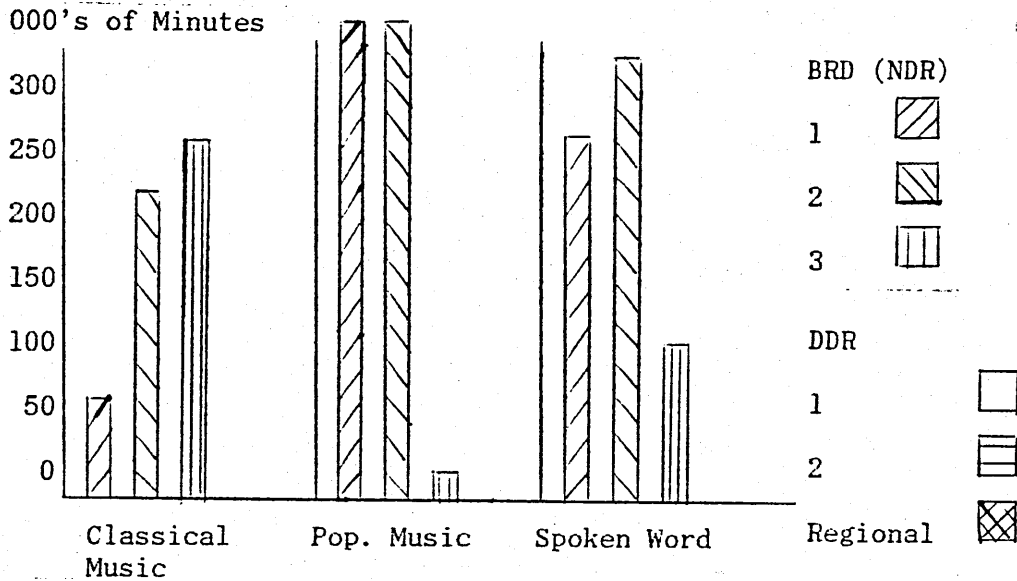


Fig 5.9 BRD and DDR Radio Compared - Annual Output

In spite of basic ideological differences, the effects of physical proximity and a common language are unavoidable. It is one of the strange ironies of censorship as an instrument of state policy that while printed material is severely censored (West to East) little curtailment of DDR use of radio and TV is possible or indeed attempted either by legal or technological means, eg by making listening and viewing illegal, or by jamming broadcasts. There seems little doubt from an examination of DDR programme content that there is a kind of magnetic pull towards a more Western style and content of programming. Western Pop, Rock and Jazz for example feature almost as largely on DDR radio as on BRD. Growing use is made, too, of programmes from the West on DDR TV - particularly the popular 'Krimis' and natural history series from Britain. Much of the product of the former UFA studios in Babelsberg maintains the sort of standards and freedom from obvious political bias (in its excellent classical drama and adaptations at least) which render them acceptable to eavesdroppers in the West - and indeed find purchasers in the West. As the comparison of programming on TV in Fig

5.10 indicates, the overall balance (bearing in mind once more the smaller total of DDR output) of types of programming shows few significant differences.

CONCLUSION

A more detailed content analysis than is possible here would of course show great differences, particularly in the presentation of news and current affairs. But the facts of physical contiguity and a common language have undoubtedly a considerable influence on blurring the sharp edges of ideological contrast and of slowing down or in some cases even reversing the process of divergence as far as general broadcasting output from the DDR is concerned. Former attitudes to Jazz, and other forms of popular music from the West, have softened considerably for example, to the extent that there is little obvious difference in the 'sound' of popular radio output from each country. Even more important for the maintenance of cultural links, the former strict official attitude to receiving BRD radio or TV in the DDR has now changed to one of tacit or in some cases quite overt acceptance of the fact of having to compete with the capitalist broadcasting system - as in the installation of special aerials in civil service flats for the reception of BRD TV. This, together with the related fact of the overall resemblance of patterns of output referred to above, must be reckoned of considerable weight in offering general background support for the contention of this thesis.

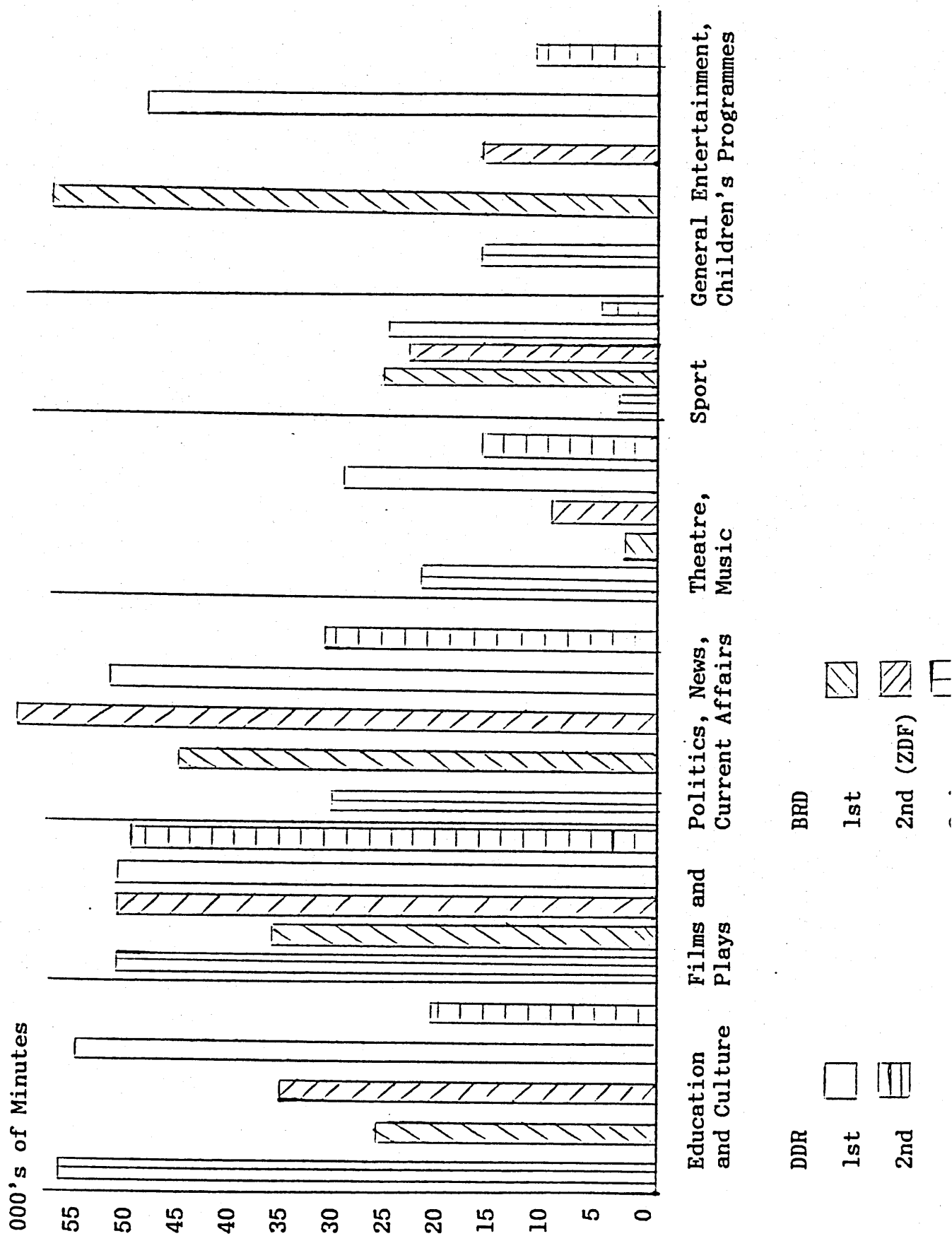


Fig 5.10 BRD and DDR Television Compared - Annual Output

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CHAPTER SIX

THE EDUCATIVE CONTENT OF ADULT EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTING IN THE TWO GERMANIES

It is unlikely that many adult educationists today would deny that the major role of the large public broadcasting institutions in continuing education must be that educative one which broadcasting at its best can carry out so admirably. The chief weight of its great technological resources as well as the efforts of its most talented presenters and production teams should go into the major tasks of informing, of educating painlessly and by stealth, in a broad popular format suited to the needs of the majority of listeners and viewers, most of the time: when they are perhaps distracted by driving, or by household duties; when they are tired and seeking relaxation and stimulation after a hard day; and very often too when radio or television are serving largely as aural background or moving wallpaper respectively. The most obvious examples of this sort of broadcasting are the 'flagship' current affairs programmes such as ZDF's 'Magazine' or the great documentary series like 'Life on Earth' - often German-British co-productions, and whatever their source, frequently seen on one side of the East-West border or the other. But there are other, less obvious and in the long run possibly more important aspects of educative broadcasting to consider, if a comprehensive picture of its role is sought.

Put at its broadest, we should be aware of what Mary Warnock has described as those aspects of broadcasting which "open people's eyes and ears to what lies beyond their immediate experience", which "show that even quite ordinary things are complex; that there is a history which would help us to understand even the humdrum and the everyday; that

among the features of life which we take for granted, as part of the accepted scene, there are distinctions to be made, judgements to be formed, decisions to be taken".¹ In terms of programme genre typical examples which illustrate this kind of educative programming are:

The better, more purposeful of the popular 'soap opera' drama series which include discussion or information about socially relevant issues; or

The speech and music magazine format now found mainly on radio.

The type of music offered here reflects the particular audience the programme reaches, but the variety of use of the speech interludes and the proportion of music to speech may vary enormously.

The educative possibilities of broadcasting do not of course end there. There are indeed few programme areas which may not be used in this way on occasion, from well-organised music, film, or drama series to popular quiz shows. The intent (and talent) of the production team is here all important, and the programme descriptions in 'Hor Zu' or 'FF Dabei' are often misleading. Even the arts of programme scheduling and programme trailing are important, both in 'hooking' an audience for maximum effect and also in offering the right programme in the right time and channel slot. While it is not intended here to deal with these large issues in any depth, it does seem important at least to log in passing the importance for adult and continuing education of a side of broadcasting where professional educationists have a minimal role to play, if any, in production. There may of course be a considerable role for educationists in encouraging maximum utilisation of such valuable resources for education through the provision of 'link' courses; but there would appear to be few examples of this in the two Germanies to date (though some frustration amongst BRD adult educationists at the

copyright restrictions which make such activity difficult). This Chapter therefore deals with that contribution of the broadcaster to adult and continuing education made simply in his role as broadcaster, and using these skills and resources which he alone can wield.

The Tables below give some indication of at least the more overtly educative programmes in DDR and BRD radio and television during one week in May 1978, and make possible a comparison with the popular entertainment, sport and cultural programmes (here labelled 'General') on the one hand and the more formal educational programmes (dealt with in later Chapters) on the other. In between these extremes the news, documentary and informal education programmes represent one important strand of the contributions of the broadcast media to continuing education. Their contribution by way of their music, drama, film and other 'cultural' presentations will be discussed separately. The Tables probably take insufficient account of educative and information uses made of speech links in the many hours of radio record programmes; but it is a not unfair generalisation to say that this aspect of radio is as yet relatively underdeveloped in both Germanies. Neither has, for example, any exact equivalent of BBC Radio 2's Jimmy Young or Radio Scotland's Jimmy Mack record programmes with their frequent and lengthy speech and discussion inserts, and phone-in questions to studio experts. The dividing line between 'informal' and other - often best classified as, 'non-formal' - adult education programmes is of course a hazy one. But in most cases the old BBC definition is still useful:

Educational television programmes for adults are programmes (other than school broadcasts) arranged in series and planned in consultation with appropriate educational bodies to help viewers towards a progressive mastery or understanding of some skill or body of knowledge. The definition shall be held to include programmes primarily designed for class use (eg in technical

colleges or in centres for adult education²) and also programmes primarily designed for the home viewer .

'Informal' in the following Table therefore refers to programmes which do not fall into the above category, (for example because of their occasional or miscellaneous nature) but which have an overt intent to transmit new ideas or knowledge or to change attitudes - eg an item in a youth magazine programme about motorcycle safety.

	GENERAL	NEWS	DOCUMENTARY	INFORMAL AD ED	AD ED/ SCHOOLS
TELEVISION					
DDR1	53	14	21	2	9
DDR2	61	16	7	10	5
Combined	55	15	20	3	7
NDR1	62	14	23	1	-
NDR3	19	4	24	7	46
Combined	36	11	27	3	23
ZDF	59	16	15	6	4
Common Morning Programme (ARD/ ZDF)	53	21	18	5	3
RADIO					
DDR1	73	13	12	2	-
DDR2	67	7	10	7	9
Stimme der DDR	68	13	9	10	-
Berliner Rundfunk	70	17	9	4	-
NDR1	76	8	11	2	3
NDR2	77	12	3	8	-
NDR3	85	3	9	2	1
Deutschlandfunk	78	10	12	2	-

Fig 6.1 DDR and BRD Patterns in Educative Programmes, 26.2-2.7.78 (%)
(Compiled from 'Hor Zu' and 'FF Dabei' - for raw scores see Appendix 5)

The most obvious feature of this comparison is the similarity in the patterns of output amongst the main popular TV channels on both sides of the border - ie DDR1 and 2, NDR1, and ZDF (the ARD Third Programme is very much a minority channel and receives separate examination later). All four popular channels devoted 21-24% of programme time to Documentary or other informal adult education programmes. It may be of interest to note in passing that an only slightly higher figure was discovered for BBC TV in a comparable earlier study.³ In radio output,

if DDR2 and 'Stimme der DDR' are excepted, there is a close similarity likewise in the output of the other six channels, all of which attempt to reach a fairly broad spectrum of listeners. All devote between 11% and 14% of their output to Documentary and other informal adult education types of programme. DDR2 represents a concept of programming more comparable with the ARD Third TV Programme, in being a specialist cultural and educational channel - though it is probably less of a 'ghetto' area than the latter. 'Stimme der DDR' could correctly of course best be compared with 'Deutschlandfunk' and its figures of 23% Documentary and other informal education programmes (and 7% overt educational output) form an interesting contrast with the total of 12% in this area for Deutschlandfunk. This is undoubtedly a meaningful difference and denotes two quite different concepts of how to influence through the media - in the one case by implication and an emphasis on entertainment, in the other by direct, often strident, proclamation of socio-economic achievement.

Even more significant than the total amount of time given to educative programmes however, is the detail of the content. What did the broadcasting organisations consider an appropriate 'curriculum' for this important sector of their output? The following Table shows the time given by broad subject area during the same week, to the areas shown as 'documentary' or informal Ad Ed in Fig 6.1.

	<u>DDR1</u>	<u>DDR2</u>	<u>NDR1</u>	<u>NDR3</u>	<u>ZDF</u>
Arts and the Media	100	110	75	30	75
Agriculture, the Land	60	-	-	-	-
Current Affairs	245	70	345	335	285
Gardening	-	-	-	30	10
Health and Medicine	50	-	30	45	-
History	-	-	60	20	45
Magazine, 'Serious' Quiz Programmes	90	-	-	120	-
Natural History	195	-	20	45	45
Parent Education	50	-	50	15	45
Religion	-	-	45	30	-
Science and Technology	55	10	75	-	-
Sport	60	-	-	-	-
Travel, Geography	85	50	105	30	75
Youth	30	-	45	-	-

Fig 6.2 Subjects Dealt with in Educative Programmes on Television:
26.6-2.7.78 (minutes) (From 'Hor Zu' and 'FF Dabei')

Once again, it is the overall similarity which is striking rather than the differences. The outstanding exception is the natural history area, where DDR1 (in a typical week for this area of programming) displayed almost twice as many programmes as ZDF, NDR1 and NDR3 put together. The non-controversial nature of such programmes, and their availability in quantity from other broadcasting organisations - including frequently the BBC - undoubtedly has much to do with this feature of DDR programming. The general disinclination to foster controversy in DDR broadcasting is demonstrated also in the rather smaller proportion of time allotted to current affairs than in the West - and even more by the content of these programmes. As has been noted in the previous Chapter, it is a major explicit aim of BRD broadcasting to reflect conflicts of opinions, different attitudes and other cleavages within West German society. DDR current affairs and news programmes on the other hand very openly reflect the prevailing opinion of the ruling Party. This is not to say that they are not frequently stimulating and even moving - like for example the radio programme 'Die Festung des Hoffens' (Fortress of Hope) by the Chilean journalist Rodrigo Rojas about his experiences in the infamous Velodrome of Santiago. And Radio is, in general used

rather more imaginatively for documentary purposes than television in the DDR (or indeed than radio in the BRD).

The Table which follows does not give an entirely fair picture of educative programming on radio, because some undoubtedly take place in the context of record programmes which occasionally include interviews and phone-ins of an informative educative or 'social action' area. However, some allowance has been made for these inserts in record programmes, and the Table below gives a reasonably accurate picture.

	DDR1	DDR2	Stimme der DDR	Berliner Rundfunk	NDR1	NDR2	NRD3	Deutsch- landfunk
Arts and the Media	80	445	60	105	50	6	120	110
Literature	-	30	60	20	25	145	210	125
Agriculture	25	50	50	-	130	25	30	25
Current Affairs	310	145	305	210	445	470	230	800
Gardening	-	-	-	-	10	30	-	-
Health and Medicine	65	-	-	-	25	60	-	30
History	-	-	-	30	-	20	-	-
Natural History	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Parent Education	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	20
Religion	-	-	-	-	30	10	60	105
Science and Tech	20	10	60	-	25	-	15	70
Travel, Geography	70	30	60	-	-	90	30	45
Youth	-	-	230	135	-	30	-	-
Social Studies and Politics	-	30	-	-	70	-	-	55
Consumer Affairs, Law	30	-	-	-	-	55	90	-

Fig 6.3 Subjects Dealt with in Educative Programmes on Radio:
26.6-2.7.78 (minutes) (From 'Hor Zu' and 'FF Dabei')

The contrasts between DDR and BRD output are more marked in radio than was the case with television. In the DDR, radio more nearly parallels television, with a distinct emphasis on topics of national and political importance in the areas of culture - for example a programme on the freedom songs of the Frelimo movement - and agriculture - two programmes in the week under examination highlighting the careers of two individuals who had 'made good' through their work for their local co-operatives. Apart from the large number of cultural (mainly classical music) programmes on DDR2, there was comparatively less offered by way of programmes affecting personal development and

creativity, eg health, gardening, or book programmes fostering breadth of choice as well as a critical stance. The explicit political teaching and lengthy detailed reporting of party affairs from the DDR is of course a contrast to be as much expected as the absence of specific religious teaching there; and likewise the fact that the latter is strongly featured in the BRD programming. It should be noted however that the churches in the DDR are given occasional access to radio for straightforward programmes of worship or information.

It is necessary to comment in broader terms on the range of films and plays (or 'made for TV' films) on German TV and radio. These can clearly be considered 'educative' in two distinct ways.

1. In so far as they broaden or develop public appreciation of film and drama as aspects of culture.
2. In so far as they serve as carriers of other themes or messages.

Both aspects are considered briefly here.

Film and Drama in the DDR

The most striking feature about the films and plays (or 'made for TV' films) on both DDR TV channels is the great variety of their geographical origins. In the same week as that used for the above analyses, the following films and plays were shown in the DDR.

<u>Country of Origin</u>	<u>Films</u>	<u>Plays or 'Made for TV' Films</u>
DDR	-	3
Poland	2	2
Yugoslavia	2	-
USSR	2	1
Bulgaria	1	-
Hungary	1	1 + 1 Hungarian/Czech co-production
Czechoslovakia	1	1
Canada	1	-
USA	1	-
UK	-	1
Denmark	-	1
Switzerland	-	1
France	-	1
Total	11	13

Fig 6.4 Film and Drama on DDR TV: 26.6-2.7.78 (from 'FF Dabej')

In subject matter, the range was rather narrower, consisting of:

Crime Thrillers	7
Historical Dramas	6
Contemporary Themes	5
Comedies	2
Others	4

It may be considered typical of the use made of films from the West that both films were presented as examples of the weakness or decadence of Western society. One was the Canadian film 'Rejeanne Padovani' by Denys Arcaud, presented as a socio-political morality play about the hollowness of the bourgeois 'good life'. The other was Stanley Kramer's 'Oklahoma Crude' significantly retitled 'Oklahoma wie es ist' (or 'Oklahoma as it really is') and presented as 'a critical look at a slice of American history'. The four television series from the West consisted of two non-political 'krimis' (ie detective thrillers), one historical drama based on a Stendhal novel, and an autobiographical semi-documentary from Denmark.

Of the other productions three of those from the DDR were routine 'krimis' and only one piece dealt with a broader, more socially significant theme. 'Lasset die Kindlein' was a modern reworking of Lessing's 'Nathan der Weise' theme of the importance of tolerance in everyday life. In general there seems to be a surprising paucity of productions making use of the excellent DEFA production facilities and of the dramatic traditions of the Brechtian theatre to reinforce prevailing socio-political doctrines. If there is a general trend to be discerned in DEFA productions it is rather a strengthening tradition of fairly conventional but extremely well made films*, usually based on German classics and demonstrating high production values and acting standards. Their adaptation of Thomas Mann's 'Lotte in Weimar' (which has been shown on BBC2) was an excellent example of this tradition.

There were seven radio plays broadcast in the week in question, two of them afternoon plays for children (one on Berliner Rundfunk, the other on Stimme der DDR). Of the others, Stimme der DDR carried a light hearted romantic drama and also a rather ambitious two hour long musical comedy. DDR1 and DDR2 each carried a specially written play on a contemporary theme of a domestic rather than an ideological nature - for example about the effects on an engagement of problems of house and job allocation and of local jealousies and suspicions about an incomer from another district. Berliner Rundfunk, finally, played an adaptation of a Karl Capek play. Once again, there was a somewhat surprising lack of

* Note that almost all DDR TV drama is recorded on film, rather than video, even when using a TV rather than cinematic convention.

evidence of any consistent attempt to use radio drama to express any particular socio-ideological doctrines or commentary - or even the practical sort of 'education by stealth' which 'The Archers' carries out day by day in Britain. And once again, this absence of a consistent educative use of radio drama is the more surprising when one considers the early contribution of Brecht to thinking about radio and radio drama and his later residence in East Berlin as the country's leading playwright and theatrical producer. As has already been noted this influence is however more evident in radio documentaries which are a regular and more overtly ideological feature of DDR radio.

Films and Drama in the BRD

Here there was much more emphasis on home produced material in the 'made for TV' category; and in choice of films, on achieving a balance between light entertainment and the presentation - on all three channels - of films broadly representative of film culture of many styles, periods and countries of origin:

<u>Country of Origin</u>	<u>Films</u>	<u>Plays or 'Made for TV' Films</u>
BRD	3	18
USA	4	5
France	1	-
UK	1	2
Italy	1	-
Spain	1	-
Sweden	1	-

Fig 6.5 Film and Drama on BRD TV (from Hör Zu 26.6-2.7.78)

of the 'made for TV' productions, 16 were shown on the ARD network and nine on ZDF. Four of the films were shown by ZDF and eight by ARD. As the total number of home productions was greater, so was the range of genre and content correspondingly wider:

'Krimis'	9
Espionage	1
Westerns	3
History (usually based on literary classics)	3
Social problems	1
Other contemporary themes	4
Comedy	5
Science Fiction	1
Romantic themes	2
'Soap opera' serials	3
Children's series or serials	4

In the field of film culture ZDF have a particularly well planned schedule. It is in addition well advertised in advance, which makes it especially useful for educational purposes. For 1978 for example, their booklet 'Der Spielfilm in ZDF' gave detailed notes on films and on programmes about films organised around this ambitious schedule:

Tuesdays	1930	Family Feature Film	Fortnightly
	2055	Advice for Filmgoers (including pieces by Hans Helmut Kirst and Berlin Critic Elvira Reitze)	Monthly
	2200	Feature Films	Fortnightly
	2200	Short Films from Abroad	Bi-monthly
	2330	Advice for Filmgoers	Monthly
Fridays	2305	The Midnight Film	Weekly
Saturdays	2015	Feature Film	Fortnightly
Sundays	1030	Feature Film (ZDF Matinee)	Monthly
	1523	Family Film	Fortnightly
	2015	Feature Film	6 per year
	2115	Feature Film	7 per year

In addition to the above categorisation, 18 of the films shown (in various time-slots) were featured in the notes as 'Films of Distinction', a truly catholic programme of film classics ranging from Olivier's 'Henry V' to Borowczyk's 'Story of a Sin' and including the Russian woman director Panfilov's 'Could I Have A Word Please'. The notes in the booklet⁴ are helpful and stimulating and would in themselves provide a useful basis for a beginner's course on film.

While there is no evidence of such comprehensive planning in the ARD film programme, the 1st and 3rd channels also offer between them a fair

balance between feature films in popular crime, western or comedy genres and more demanding films - often French or Scandinavian. There is a tendency on Channel 1 to offer an above average number of West German films; and on the Third Programme to compensate for its 'cultural ghetto' reputation by offering mainly American westerns, thrillers and comedies. But in general it is difficult to discern any particular evidence of educative policy making in this field.

Much the same would appear to be true of TV drama - while there is a reasonable balance between light entertainment and more demanding or socially purposive drama on all three channels, only ZDF offer to the individual viewer or to the adult educationist, community or social worker helpful long-term programme schedules linked with clear policy statements about their aims. A parallel booklet to that on Film for example⁵ lists the various categories of stage-originated drama planned for 1978 under the following headings:

The Narrow World of the Petty Bourgeois (including an adaptation of D H Lawrence's 'The Daughter-in-law and a DDR production of Gogol's 'The Inspector General')

Neuroses of Bourgeois Society (including Tom Stoppard's 'Travesties', 'Lady Windermere's Fan' and Ernest Barlach's 'The Poor Cousin')

The Classics Today (Goldoni's 'Servant of two Masters'; and a film of an ambitious West Berlin multimedia production 'Shakespeare's Memory' - an introduction to the spiritual and cultural history of the Shakespeare period)

Popular Theatre (from 'Charley's Aunt' to Keith Waterhouse and Willis Hall, and their German contemporaries)

Once again, the detailed notes on each production make this a most helpful booklet for any individual or group studying any of these aspects of drama.

Equally valuable for a more particular study of TV drama would be another booklet⁶ which not only gives notes on plays specifically written or adapted for TV, but is prefaced by a transcript of an excellent lecture by TV director Eberhard Fechner making some cogent points about his craft. A final example of the way in which ZDF's accompanying literature enhances the usefulness of their output might be the accompanying booklet for two series about youth in contemporary society: 'Die Strasse' (The Street) and 'Mirjam und der Lord von Rummelplatz'. 'Die Strasse' is a series of tales illustrating different facts of the problems faced by young people today, linked by 'The Street' and its struggling youth club. 'Mirjam' traces the adventures of a 13 year old 'Treber' or runaway from an ordinary middle-class home and a fairground worker who befriends her. The notes on the overall themes and on individual programmes are such as to attract youth workers thinking of using them with youth people; but also emphasise the possible role of the series in helping parents and other adults to understand the young.

BRD Radio Drama

The pattern here is remarkably similar to that in the DDR. As in the East, radio drama is (by BBC standards anyway) limited in quantity, though displaying generally high standards of production. NDR channels 1 and 2 had only one play each in the week considered, while Deutschlandfunk had three drama offerings. The latter consisted of a short play on a sporting theme, a popular 'krimi' and an adaptation of 'Marlowe's End'. NDR1's offering was a short play exploring the psychological significance of owning a house and garden, while NDR2's was a play in 'Platt' or Low German, the prevailing dialect across many areas of North Germany. Plattdeutsch programming constitutes an important strand in NDR2 and in recent years an ambitious ZDF-type

booklet of notes on their Plattdeutsch drama has been published twice yearly, with obvious advantages for students of Platt and its literature. A similar booklet is now published by NDR for its other drama offerings, showing a developing programme which now includes one or two plays - often of an experimental nature - on NDR3 as well as a varied schedule on 1 which includes a wide selection of foreign plays and adaptations of classics as well as popular 'krimis' and romantic drama.

Music on Radio and Television

There are three principal ways in which the general broadcast musical output has traditionally exercised an educative influence on the listening/viewing public:

1. According to the original Reithian concept of mixed programming to familiarise the wide general audience with a broad spectrum of music;
2. By the creation of specialist channels for each range of musical taste; or
3. By some appropriate blending of these two concepts.

All three methods may with advantage use written support materials to facilitate a more overtly educational use of the broadcasts.

In general, there is a distinctly Reithian approach in both DDR and BRD broadcasting, with all five TV channels and five of the eight radio channels featuring at least some examples of classical, folk and a wide spectrum of popular music (including jazz) each week. DDR Radio 2 and NDR3 are broadly similar in content with a strong emphasis on a wide range of classical music, but including one or two jazz programmes each week. NDR2 has an equally distinct emphasis on 'pop'. NDR1,

Deutschlandfunk, DDR Radio 1, Berliner Rundfunk and Stimme der DDR all adhere strongly to the Reithian idea of attracting large general audiences with a musical diet strongly 'mor' (middle-of-the-road) but including some examples each week of concerts or record programmes of classical, folk and jazz music. Only NDR3 produces a brochure similar to the NDR radio plays brochure, with brief notes on the various categories of programme - including music - on that channel.

On television a 'Reithian' approach to programming prevails on all channels with regard to music though there is perhaps a stronger emphasis on DDR1 on traditional folk music. ARD3 has likewise a specialist tendency in showing rather more ambitious or musically 'up-market' programmes, such as a regular critics' forum. But all five channels show in typical weeks examples of a classical concert and a concert of popular music, with jazz and traditional folk music also appearing regularly in their schedules. Opera, operetta and ballet are less frequent, but tend also to appear equally on all channels. Only ZDF once again publishes a brochure on their year's offerings in this field. That for the period Autumn 1977 - Spring 1978 for example has full notes and illustrations on 14 operas, five ballet presentations (under the heading 'International Dance Theatre'), seven operettas and 28 concerts.

There are, as has been pointed out above, many perhaps surprising resemblances in the pattern of output from the DDR and the BRD. These similarities with regard to hours of output in broad content categories are however somewhat superficial and disguise underlying differences which are, less surprisingly, deeply ideological in kind. The overall concepts of the roles of education and broadcasting in society appear

more sharply divergent in this educative sector of output than in more formally educational broadcasts. In the DDR, education and the mass media generally are seen as opinion moulders, shapers of socialist character, ready weapons to be used in the class war - usually quite overtly used. In the BRD on the other hand, while philosophies and ideologies vary widely within society, there is a prevailing, explicit and well defined concept of broadcasting as having a duty to reflect this variety through all sectors of output. Indeed as the quotation from ZDF's "Television in the Seventies" at the end of the last Chapter indicates, it is felt that broadcasting should endeavour to seek out and give positive expression to, actual tensions and conflicts within society. Since the publication of that document in the early seventies, there has been a refinement of that philosophy, and even a partial reaction against it:

"Here lay a significant error of our past (programme production policy): that our films and plays were much too anxiously preoccupied with their raw material of reality . . . We put all our energy into analysis, and established a block against fantasy. We reproduced the everyday frequently, but little adventure. We often set people like you and me in our scenes, but seldom heroes . . . as we were afraid of dreams, our programmes all started to look like the news of the day".

Tensions persist within BRD society however - over nuclear energy, over immigrant workers, between generations, between increasingly divergent political philosophies - and the broadcast media continue to see the portrayal of these tensions and the exploration of the issues behind them, as a major part of their educative role. ZDF's Director of Programmes, Dieter Stolte has articulated this role in the following terms:

First of all, one must recognise two fundamental points:-

1. The viewer, quite correctly, looks to television in the first place for entertainment. This does not mean that problems and other serious matters are ruled out. Even Berthold Brecht, who

certainly would not have admitted to any social irrelevance in his work, wrote "Theatre consists in the representation of actual or invented happenings between men, and in doing so for entertainment . . . it should make pleasant, the presentation of moral ideas - and even the act of thinking about them".

2. Young people watch television less than older generations. This is particularly true of the 14-20 age group . . . their acceptance of the medium in future must be an⁸ important criterion of its liveliness and relevance to life.

He draws from this two imperatives for programme planning: "Think of the 80% of the broader public, which has only a basic lower secondary education . . . and enquire about the new which interests youth, as well as paying attention to the new which they can give us".⁹

Nine major themes for programme planning seem to Stolte to be indicated by these considerations:

1. How people relate to their environment - social but also physical, natural, but also including the 'built' or designed environment.
2. Using viewers' curiosity about the past to throw light on the present state of society and its possible future development (not just to support the nostalgia industry).
3. Applying imagination to throwing new light on the world of work (and using imagination in Thomas Mann's sense - not 'making it up' but 'making something out of real things').
4. In a society where we are cared for by the State from cradle to grave, we hear too little of pioneers who strike out in new directions on their own initiative - broadcasting must portray this side of life elsewhere than in Western films.
5. The democratic virtues such as tolerance, social justice, freedom, or solidarity tend to be found more in election addresses than in reality - they must be tested out in the family, in the workplace, in conflict.

6. The converse of (4) above - living in an all-caring state without being smothered by it; and how the state can carry out its responsibilities in a complex world without hedging its citizens in with a tangle of laws and regulations.
7. Television must perform well the role which it can fulfil better than any previous medium - informing us about other peoples, other cultures, and thus throwing new light on our own culture.
8. Personal relationships are continually changing their nature - particularly with regard to the changing role of women in such relationships. These must be developed; and must especially take account of such increasingly common matters as the practice of living together unmarried for various personal, social or financial reasons.
9. Finally, love stories must not be forgotten. Does this sound 'kitschig'? But the passions and the sorrows of love affect everyone. We should stop being embarrassed about reporting about people and their feelings. How cold and inhuman would be a society which did not produce its own Romeo and Juliet, Tristan and Isolde, or Philemon and Baucis!¹⁰

CONCLUSIONS

In general, neither DDR nor BRD broadcasting could be said to approach in accomplishment, the high standards articulated by Dieter Stolte. They both appear full aware however of the educative possibilities of radio and television, though placing considerably more emphasis on the entertainment and information functions than would be true for example of broadcasting in Britain. The reasons for this are fairly clear in the case of the DDR. There is a strong sense among broadcasters and educationists alike of belonging to an educative society where every

possible opportunity for education is made available, for all, at every stage of life. Broadcasting is not therefore seen as a possible campaign leader for reaching underprivileged groups, meeting new needs, or helping to define unarticulated ones. The DDR is of course the smaller, more agricultural third of Germany and its less developed technology and economy puts it at a considerable disadvantage as compared with the BRD with its three TV channels, relative wealth and fully developed video technology all of which influence greatly the potential for the production or buying from abroad of major series of all kinds, including educative ones.

The BRD, with its wealth of 'Land' radio provision certainly offers a rather broader spectrum of educative programming than the DDR. The broadcasting companies are faced however with a public demand which is very strongly for entertainment of a fairly undemanding kind, and the realities of the complex 'Land' basis of the organisation and finance of the ARD together with fear of competition from ZDF are an undoubted hindrance to adventurous development in this area. There also persists these basic attitudes towards education discussed in Chapter Two which are still to some extent prevalent in BRD society and which may well affect planning and provision in a more fundamental way.

Patterns of programming in this area then seem in general rather supportive of the thesis in that there is evidence of considerable continuity with the original policies of the first German broadcasting system. There is a strong emphasis on general, mainly entertainment programming in both systems today, at around 50-60% of TV output. Popular documentary-type features and news programmes take upmost of remaining TV programme time with informal and formal or schools

education together showing around 10% at most of total output. Patterns on radio differ mainly in the even larger proportion of time given to general (mainly popular music) programming, at 67-85% of output. Differences of approach, apart of course from the more overt ideological content of DDR news and documentary programmes in particular, lie in the narrower range of subject matter in the latter country's programming. BRD output covers a much wider area of minority interests, and hobbies and to some extent therefore supports Western leanings towards individual choice and personal development as major aims for adult education.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

ADULT EDUCATION AND BROADCASTING IN THE DDR

There are clearly numerous variables to bear in mind in any attempt to describe a nation's educational broadcasting services. Most obviously there are the twin issues of the content or 'curriculum' (although the latter is rarely an appropriate term even in the most centrally planned service); and the level of treatment of the subject and therefore of audiences aimed at. Of equal interest in recent years has been the question of the media mix used - are radio or television used separately or in combination? How important are print or other media? Is there a 'master' medium? But increasingly the question of the actual utilisation of broadcast resources for learning has come to be seen as a key one, and this involves necessarily the highlighting of issues of collaboration between broadcasters and educationists in the planning and delivery, less usually in the production of programmes. Output will therefore be considered in this and the following Chapter according to its chief source of origin, ie:

1. Mainly the responsibility of the broadcasters
2. Mainly educationists; or
3. Truly collaborative in conception and delivery.

In the case of the DDR, the role of the professional educationist is so unusually central to the entire service that this aspect of it is considered first; and central to the way in which this influence is exerted is one unique institution - the Zentralinstitut für Schulfunk

und Schulfernsehen*, Potsdam.

ZIFF

Though established in 1972 for the purpose of co-ordinating broadcasting for schools, ZIFF has become such a predominant force in educational broadcasting in the DDR that it cannot be ignored here. The Institute is a semi-autonomous body within the Karl Liebknecht College of Education, Potsdam, with a Director possessing professorial status. Its staff of 22 professionals and six administrators and other assistants is grouped into two departments. The larger (again under a head of department with professorial status) has the twin responsibilities of:

1. Preparing the content of those schools radio and television programmes which are closely tied to school curricula; and
2. directing the utilisation of these programmes in schools.

The smaller department deals with evaluation of the programmes and their utilisation and with other related pedagogic issues.

ZIFF is concerned mainly with the 60-70% of schools programmes which are curriculum based. These are of two carefully distinguished kinds - instructional (mainly language-teaching) which are strictly for use in class and in the context of a lesson; and complementary series - still linked to the curriculum, but more loosely, and designed to stimulate new ideas, to round off and sum up courses, or to clarify connections - in history for example. In the highly integrated educational system of the DDR high utilisation of a relatively small output is possible, with the emphasis falling almost entirely on the upper classes 7 - 10. They receive weekly television programmes in German Literature, History,

* Central Institute for School Radio and Television - commonly ZIFF for short.

NB Not to be confused with the Fernuniversitat's 'Zentrales Institut für Fernstudienforschung' also known as 'ZIFF'.

Citizenship, English, Russian, Chemistry, Physics and Biology. Classes which are not receiving Literature or Chemistry series in any one year have radio series in their place. Radio is also used for elementary French.

While details of the funding of educational broadcasting were not available, it was clear that this restriction to the upper school was a result of lack of resources rather than of any pedagogical decision regarding the value of broadcasting in the lower school. Another result of this appreciation of broadcasting as a scarce resource is the extremely close co-ordination which takes place between school timetabling and transmission of the programmes. This is doubly necessary in the DDR because of the expense and scarcity of video equipment, which is found in hardly any schools, and the consequent universal practice of viewing off-air. Radio programmes are however usually recorded and used at the teacher's convenience.

The high level of utilisation claimed for schools broadcasting does not appear to be the result of any authoritarian central direction as much as the careful co-ordination carried out by the Institute. As so often in the DDR exact figures are hard to come by, but it was possible to gain an impression, through visiting both broadcasters and educationists with the ZIFF officer responsible for co-ordination, of highly detailed forward planning which gave great weight to the needs and wishes of the schools.

Planning and production of programmes bears no resemblance to the integrated team planning found for example in the BBC Open University system. The role of ZIFF in production appears to end with the detailed

planning of programme outlines. These are handed over to DDR radio and TV producers who then seem to have a free hand to translate them into scripts and completed productions. This system works surprisingly well, despite clear tensions between the academics and the broadcasting staff - often referred to rather disparagingly by the former as 'journalists'.

ZIFF then has a generally significant role in educational broadcasting as the only body of educationists engaged full-time in that sphere, and must be recognised for its overall influence on standards, particularly through the work of its evaluation section. Its importance for adult education goes beyond this general influence however, as the adult use of schools output far exceeds the casual adult 'eavesdropping' common in other countries. This is especially true of the language teaching series:

"Wir sprechen Russisch,"
 "English for You,"
 "Bonjour chers amis"

(We speak Russian)
 (both television series) and
 (radio only)

There are no other broadcast language-teaching series on DDR radio or television, and the TV programmes are both repeated in the evening at convenient hours - 1805 in the case of English, 1900 for Russian. These are suitable times in DDR society both for the home viewer and for evening classes. The 8.00 am transmission of 'Bonjour chers amis' on Radio II presents no problem to adult education organisers, who will usually have sound recording equipment, as have many private individuals.

Institute Für Weiterbildung* - Ludwigsfelde

This Institute supervises and services the complex and intensive system

* Institute for In-Service Training

of in-service teacher education in the DDR. Every teacher must take a short full-time course every five years, as well as attending regular meetings of subject teachers in his school. In addition all teachers must undertake a highly organised scheme of private study which includes an element of radio and television. There is a District Director for each District who organises all local aspects of in-service education. The short courses however, like the training of the university tutors who carry out the local in-service tuition, and also the planning of the radio and television programmes are all based in Ludwigsfelde.

Here, a working-group on broadcasting co-ordinates the progress from original conception to script of the television and radio programmes made to support this highly integrated system of instruction. The group has produced one television programme per month since it began work in 1969. The highly practical nature of the programmes, which usually include demonstration lessons made in a school, make them useful additions to the written texts and individual tuition which constitute the main teaching methods. The subjects are chosen to give a fair share to all levels and subject areas over a four or five year period. During the month of my visit for example, the programme just completed was about changes in the teaching of geometry, and was aimed mainly at primary teachers. It was broadcast at 3.00 am on its first transmission (reasonable bearing in mind the early start and early finish in German Schools) and 6.00 pm on its second. It would later, with other programmes from that term's transmissions go out on school holiday mornings.

In keeping with the overall DDR policy of making intensive use of a relatively small output, the Ludwigsfelde in-service courses include a

one hour lecture and a two hour seminar on the utilisation of the English-teaching series "English for You" (apparently regarded as one of their 'flagship' educational series). The seminar programme includes:

1. An introduction to the revised television series, its relationship to the English curriculum, and its methodological bases.
2. Questions relating to the structure of the programmes - dramatised scenes, commentary, listening and speaking.
3. Using the programmes in class - preparing pupils before the broadcast; careful direction of the actual viewing; and follow-up work, with particular reference to the need to integrate it with the rest of the course materials.¹

The Use of CCTV

Though little if any use seems to be made of broadcasting by other institutions of higher education in the DDR, it should be noted that most of the major colleges and universities have CCTV. Physics, medical and technology departments own well over half of the 50 installations in existence and account also for about 50% of the use made of them, though other departments may also have access. Only some 18% of facilities are centrally organised for an entire institution.

According to Born and Born almost 70% of the use made of CCTV is "for the direct demonstration or direct observation of processes, facts, situations or objects in the manifold spheres of nature, society and technology".² The reading camera also enjoys increasing popularity as a preferred technique to the episcopes for displaying graphic material in the classroom. Another use of particular interest in countries such as Britain with their perennial copyright problems, is the recording of broadcast transmissions. 25% of CCTV users make regular use in their

lectures and seminars of DDR TV programmes. These are presumably, in the main, documentary and current affairs programmes, though Born and Born do not specify. But we have obviously here an extremely important use of television in adult and higher education virtually denied (because of copyright restrictions) to education in Western countries, which it would be extremely interesting to see followed up by more detailed investigation.

Urania

For anyone accustomed to the complexities and problems of co-operation between broadcasting and adult education in the West, Urania's links with radio and television appear simplicity itself. This is partly because Urania is anyhow a loosely-structured organisation which leaves detailed planning of activities to the various district branches (in the case of local lectures, visits etc); or to the Urania Publishing House as regards publications; and similarly to the senior producers in radio and television responsible for 'Urania in Funk' and 'Fernseh-Urania' respectively. The Urania Präsidium in Berlin lays down general policies and acts as a clearing-house and information centre. However a great deal of discretion seems to be left to broadcasting staff to liaise with Urania branches throughout the country and to assess needs and interests in the wide spectrum of subject matter falling within Urania's area of responsibility. In terms of the distinction made at the beginning of this Chapter, Urania series are therefore good examples of genuine collaboration between adult educationists and broadcasters. The broad framework for the collaborative effort is established by the educationists, who then devolve virtually all responsibility for form and content to the broadcasters. Thereafter utilisation once again reverts mainly to Urania branches, the Volkshochschulen, and, as will be

seen, to Urania-Verlag (Publishing) in some cases.

In keeping with the separate nature of the radio and television services in the DDR, their work for Urania is organised and presented in different ways in each service. In television the format of 'die neue Fernseh-Urania' (New Television Urania) has been in operation since 1975. On a regular Wednesday evening each month (usually the third Wednesday of the month) two separate primetime spots are given to the Urania series. On the first, from 8.00 pm to 8.30 pm, a presentation, usually documentary in kind is made about the subject of the month. After a 30-60 minute gap, during which other unrelated programmes are transmitted, there follows the 45 minute 'Urania-forum' when viewers phone in their questions to a panel of experts. The gap is a convenient way of allowing production staff to sort out the most interesting and varied questions and comments, which may come from individuals or local groups. A brief illustrated article in FF Dabei introduces the feature programme and gives the phone number for the forum. 'Fernsehdienst' (the weekly TV press release) also carries a fairly detailed introduction and the programme is usually well covered in the weekly and daily press.

A broad spectrum of subject matter has been covered since the institution of 'Neue Fernseh-Urania', with a general preference being shown for developments in science, medicine and technology. The following list gives some impression of areas dealt with between 1978 and 1980:

Developments in weather forecasting (introduced by an international survey, including film of both the Moscow and Washington World Weather Centres and entitled 'Wenn's am Siebenschläfer Regnet' - "When it Rains on St Swithin's Day")

The Secrets of Hypnotism

Continental Drift (with an original DEFA film)

The Psychological Effects of Music

Modern Genetics - a new look at the 'Nature o. Nurture' debate

New life for the Coal Industry?

What are Feelings?

Is Our Life Predetermined?

Life from the Wastelands

The Urania Präsidium¹¹ is given several 16mm Magnetton film copies of each introductory programme for loan to branches. Though many of these films had been borrowed over 200 times for local or factory branch use, the existence of this facility is not as universally known as could be hoped. A catalogue has been produced however, intended for circulation to all branches, and this, it is hoped, will improve utilisation of this facility yet further.

'Neue Fernseh-Urania' programmes come under the control of a 'Leiter der Redaktion' (chief editor) one of whose principal functions this Urania link appears to be. Urania on radio however, is organised quite differently. The Director of Radio 2 has a general responsibility for educational radio, both in and out of school; and with the exception of the popular educative programming described in the previous Chapter, all educational radio in the DDR is concentrated on this channel. Programmes with specific Urania links seem to be occasional in nature and consist of approximately one 20-minute lecture per month. This is printed as a booklet by Urania publishing for sale to branches or individual listeners. There is a strong emphasis on the physical sciences as the following examples of subject matter from recent output show:

Palaeontology - a Geological Science

On the Physics of the Cosmos - Cosmology, Cosmogony and the Theory of Gravitation

Reconnoitering the Earth from the Cosmos

On the Origins of Human Intelligence

What is the Special Responsibility of the Natural Scientist?

These lectures are all published and also announced in FF Dabeï as 'Urania im Funk'. No other programmes have this specific and overt connection with Urania, although the Director, Radio 2 spoke of at least one of his other adult education series (Lebendige Geschichte - see below) as if he thought of it as Urania-linked - this in spite of the fact that neither Fernsehdienst nor FF Dabeï made reference to such a connection. This vagueness about exact relationships with Urania is significant for an understanding of the way in which Urania often operates - influencing, assisting with funding and staffing, but leaving control in the main to the professionals involved, in co-operation with their clienteles. In other respects the resemblance to the WEA in Britain is quite striking, though Urania's far-reaching influence in social institutions such as for example, the broadcasting organisations (because of its official blessing and support) is more considerable than that of the WEA.

The Broadcasters - Television

as will be apparent from the description above, of the demands of ZIFF and the Ludwigsfelde Institute on the limited resources of educational broadcasting, most of the time and energy of these broadcasters go into the formal side of schools broadcasting. In television, the ten director/producers make 30-40 new programmes each year for that formal

output of about 100, the remaining programmes in any one year therefore being repeats. In addition they produce 45 programmes of the 'enrichment' type, frequently discussion programmes or films presenting in dramatic form the problems of teenagers. Radio II makes even more use of a participatory format for schools 'enrichment' programmes. Three recent radio series for example were:

1. "Junge Leute Diskutieren" - young people discussing subjects such as "Peace at any Price?", "How I Use My Free Time", "Who is Revolutionary Today" or "Love Between a Boy and a Girl".
2. "Dein Beruf deine Zukunft" (Your job - your future): Young workers report on their occupations, their factories and on opportunities for further education.
3. "Jugend fragt und diskutiert" - Young people confronting panels of political leaders, scientists and workers with questions about subjects such as the new Youth Law, a recent World Conference of Peace Forces in Moscow, or the tasks of young deputies.

As with English and Russian series, these series are of considerable interest to a wider audience, and they are usually broadcast at times which make them widely available.

It seems clear however that the production resources left over for series specifically designed for adult needs are slender. Those that are provided are accordingly relatively small in total output, and also modest in conception, by comparison with schools programmes - many of which bear comparison with any to be found in the output of wealthier broadcasting organisations elsewhere with much greater technological resources. In television, the general approach to this problem of responding to the wide range of adult interests with limited resources is to maintain several recognised adult education 'spots' which are used

for occasional or perhaps regular monthly programmes rather than sustained weekly series. Much use is also made of low-cost but popular programmes of the forum, studio discussion or phone-in type. There is usually also at least one more formal adult education series being offered at any one time on the more usual weekly basis with back-up literature and appropriate links with Factory Schools, Volkshochschule or other institutions.

One such was directed at the training of ships officers, and was called 'Aus dem Logbuch der Seefahrt' - 'From the Logbook of a Sea Voyage'. This series aimed to complement the face-to-face and correspondence elements of their training by portraying the application of theory to practice in a real-life situation. The choice of subject matter for their one sustained course of the year seemed in keeping with the prevailing strongly vocational approach throughout all sectors of education. As noted above, the ready availability of school English and Russian teaching series at times suitable to adults make it reasonable to consider these also as part of television's more comprehensive educational offerings for adults.

The other regular and frequent series is much less formal. It is a ten minute daily keep-fit and health series entitled 'Medizin nach Noten' - a pun on the regular 'movement to music' content and on the idiom 'nach Noten' meaning 'thoroughly' or 'properly'. This is a long-running favourite transmitted at 5.00 pm Monday to Friday, and consisting of advice on good health practice together with fairly gentle daily keep-fit exercises.

The rest of the adult education on DDR TV is either occasional in nature

or regular on a monthly basis. Certain time 'spots' seem to be fairly firmly earmarked for such programmes. The most consistent over the last five years have been:

Saturdays noon - 1.30 pm on DDR1

Mondays at 7.00 pm on II

Wednesday evenings around 9.00 pm on I and 8.30 - 9.00 pm on II

Thursdays at 7.00 pm on II

These spots, like those for other adult education and more broadly educative programmes are distributed impartially between Channels I and II. Programmes of this kind are indeed frequently transmitted for the first time on one channel, and repeated on the other - usually the following morning. There is, in other words, no tendency in the DDR to see Channel II as the main vehicle for adult education. If it has a distinct flavour of its own (and this is sometimes difficult to perceive) it is rather that of the more specialised cultural channel, in that classical music, ballet, opera or undubbed foreign language films (inevitably Russian or English) would usually be found there.

The programmes appearing on those spots on a regular monthly basis over the five years of the study were rather academic and mainly scientific in nature:

1. "Das Professoren K l l e g i u m t a g t" (The Board of Professors meets) - Assorted academics discuss questions of the day from the viewpoint of their own specialism.
2. "Fragen Sie Professor Kaul" (Ask Professor Kaul) - A noted academic answers correspondence or phone-in questions mainly on politics and economics.
3. "Reflektor" - A popular science programme of a rather more ambitious type with reports and demonstrations of latest advances in science and technology.

4. "Jugendclub" (Youth Club) - A variety of topics of especial interest to young adults are dealt with - usually by the discussion or 'ask the expert mode'.

Shorter series of this kind have been:

"Elternsprechstunde" - Parents' discussion time; and "Alltag im Westen" (Everyday Life in the West) - reports mainly on economics and politics in the West eg 'The English Sickness'.

Less regularly occurring topics which are nevertheless dealt with in such a systematic manner as to justify their inclusion as adult education rather than informative or educative programming are:

"Du und Dein Garten" (You and Your Garden); and "Berufe im Bild" (Careers in Focus). Similar programmes on career topics occur frequently.

Another recent one was: "Facharbeiter - als Studenten nicht gefragt?" (Skilled Workers - as Students not in demand.)

"Treffpunkt Kino" (Rendezvous Cinema) - an occasional review of new films also occurs in this time-block.

A final contribution by the broadcasters acting on their own initiative to adult education is to group existing programme material in an educationally useful way. There is, for example the regularly occurring schedule area: "Für Freunde der Russischen Sprache" (for friends of the Russian language). This is a regular weekly feature, often on Sunday afternoon on TV II, but often in addition on an evening (or at least part of one) on TV I. The section of programming so highlighted might consist simply of a Russian film (usually with subtitles) or, particularly in the Sunday afternoon slot of a film, a documentary or

other short feature from Russian TV, and a news round-up on Russian affairs.

Methods and Styles in Television Programme Presentation

Many of the programmes from the above series were viewed, from one side of the Border or another, over the five years of the study. The most obvious general feature noted was the sharp contrast between the more lavishly produced schools programmes (including of course some, eg language series, extensively used by adults) and adult education programmes proper, with their much more basic format. A schools geography film viewed during a visit to the TV Centre for example, was a lyrical account of life in the Danube Delta which compared favourably in quality of sound, photography and general presentation with the best of such educational or documentary work to be found in Western Europe or America. An English teaching series was equally comparable both in standards and methods of presentation and used the familiar mix of real-life and dramatised dialogue to illustrate points of grammar or vocabulary.

Much more typical of adult education programming however was the Sunday morning series 'Everyday Life in the West' (Alltag im Westen), which on the Sunday of my visit (2.7.77) had as its theme, 'The English Sickness'. Dr Katins and a group of experts discussed this theme around a table in an informal setting, presenting a Marxist critique of British strikes, unemployment and related economic problems. No film or other graphic material was used. Two other series 'The Board of Professors Meets' and 'Ask Professor Kaul' used a roughly similar format - in the latter case with the addition of a direct line phone-in facility.

The Urania programme described above 'When it Rains on St Swithin's Day' seemed however to be typical of programmes in this once-a-month series in adopting a rather more ambitious format. This programme about developments in weather forecasting opened with a 25 minute film shot in weather stations around Europe, before returning to a studio summary of the main points being made and an invitation to viewers to phone in questions. These were dealt with after a 30 minute break for a music programme.

Viewing from the West during more recent visits showed no important changes in this pattern of adult education programme methods which may be summarised as being low-budget, most frequently 'talking head' productions with largely informal learning objectives. More specific adult learning from television depends therefore largely on schools programming, which, however good in terms of its main aims, is often inevitably inappropriate for adults as regards pacing and style of presentation as well as in any accompanying written materials.

Radio

In radio, even more than in television, adult education is necessarily a rather marginal activity. The Head of Radio 2, with his modest production team, is responsible for some 90 hours of programming each week, around 70% of which is classical music. He has also sole responsibility for all schools radio, which involves two or three new ZIFF-linked series in production at any one time, plus a further three series of the 'enrichment' sort described above. These, together with the other speech programmes for which he is responsible (news, critics' reports and discussions, some documentaries) inevitably monopolise the resource of Radio 2. However, a variety of short and simple educational

programmes are made for adults. These are usually 15 minute talk or discussion programmes meeting a variety of quite specific needs, and made in close liaison with the various groups at which they are aimed. The needs of trade union and other factory based groups, of local councillors, and of political education at various levels tend to dominate. As is the case with television, the effort to meet a wide range of needs with slender resources and air time means that many of these programmes are occasional in nature, or at best monthly transmissions. Those likely to be of especial interest to factory groups (or agricultural co-operatives) are often transmitted at the lunch hour. It is becoming increasingly common for these broadcasts to be recorded by such groups, particularly in the larger concerns, which frequently have recording and even film units run by enthusiastic amateurs.

Two series occur on a weekly basis:

1. "Lebendige Geschichte" (Living History) - In this Sunday morning 15 minute programme, various aspects of history are dealt with, usually in a lecture format, and with a strong emphasis on socialist history eg "The October Revolution", "Mongolian Children on a Long Journey".
2. "Hour of World Literature" - A different work is chosen each week and discussed in some depth, with readings and dramatisations of excerpts.

Regular on a monthly basis are three further series:

1. "Political Education", (in liaison with the ruling SED party).
2. "Training for Local Government and Other Representatives".
3. "School of Socialist Work" - A programme is made each month in a suitable factory to illustrate various aspects of work, eg "Using

Materials Economically".

Little responsibility seems to be felt for the more general educational needs of adults, which are considered (with some justice) to be met adequately by the many institutions and facilities described in Chapter Two. However, one particular success story for educational radio must be mentioned. In 1970 a short series on study skills. "Studying - How to Begin", aroused so much interest that the lectures were printed as a best-selling book. In 1973 a further series was broadcast which again caused so great a response that a second book was produced, with as great success as the first. This book, "Du und Dein Studium" (You and Your Study)³ contains many useful and original insights into the needs and problems of adults returning to study, or taking it up at a higher academic level for the first time, and is worthy of wider international attention than it seems to have received.

Finally, Radio II has two featured time-slots used mainly for informal education. These are:

1. Mitschnitt-Service (The Lunchtime Programme), Mondays to Fridays between 1.00 and 2.00 pm. In a typical week this included, besides some light music:
 - a repeat of the schools "Bonjour chers amis" (elementary French);
 - "Bonjour chers amis II" (intermediate French);
 - "Pioniere der ersten Jahre" - a weekly talk series - eg "Heinz Kuhnert - vom Landarbeiter zum VEG Direktor" (From Farmworker to Co-operative Director);
 - Talk - "Materialismus und Erkenntnis" (Materialism and Knowledge)

"Hier spricht moskau" - A USSR production for DDR Listeners;
 Talk - "Weltpolitik aus unserer Sicht" (World Politics from our
 Viewpoint);

Talk and Discussion - "Dein Recht" (Your Rights) - new
 legislation as it affects the individual.

2. Studio 70 - Monday, Thursday and Friday prime time slots (8.00 -
 8.45 pm) for an educational/educative miscellany of
 talks/interviews as follows in a typical week:

"Pioniere der ersten Jahre" (as repeated in Mitschnitt
 Service);

"Rassismus am Pranger" (Racism on the Pillory) - South Africa
 and Israel - Dangerous Partners;

(For the School of Socialist Work) - "Werkstätige und der Plan"
 (Workers and the Plan) - a conversation between Professor Dr
 Harry Nick and Trade Union activists;

"Gehen bei uns Talente Verloren?" (Are we neglecting the
 development of artistic talents?);

"Botanischler Garten - Greifswald";

"Rumanische Fischsuppe" (Rumanian Fish Soup) - in a regular
 weekly series on foreign cookery - "Looking over Friends'
 Shoulders" - in Eastern Block countries;

"Information aus Wissenschaft und Technik" (from Science and
 Technology).

As described in the previous Chapter, Radio 1, Berliner Rundfunk and the
 Regional morning programmes on VHF all transmit a certain amount of
 educative programming in their mainly light or popular music/information
 format. Berliner Rundfunk however, with its emphasis on the young adult
 audience, has a regular series better classified as informal adult

education. This is a radio version of TVs "Professoren Kollegium Tagt" suitably adapted for a younger audience. Listeners are encouraged to write or telephone questions to the guest experts as on TV. In addition, a prize of 50 marks is offered for the most interesting question, and of 100 marks for the best answer to the monthly 'Haus-Aufgabe' (House-Test).

"Stimme der DDR" also carries a certain amount of informal adult education, sometimes supported by publications available free on demand. The occasional series "Wissenschaftliche Weltanschauung" (Scientific Viewpoint) is a current example. A recent cycle of talks under the rubric "Living Tradition" published, for example, one of the talks by Professor Dr Harry Milke on "Lenin's Artikel 'Über das Genossenschaftswesen'" (On the Nature of Co-operatives). Other weekly series which might be considered informal adult education are the magazine programmes:

"Agromix" (an early morning programme on farming for everyone);

"Wirtschaftsimpressionen" (Reflections on Economic Matters) - talks, news items and listeners' questions answered on capitalist and socialist economics;

"Das Wissenschaftsjournal" (Science Journal).

Methods and Styles in Radio Programme Presentation

The comments made above about TV presentation methods apply almost equally to DDR Radio. There is in fact a radio version of "The Board of Professors Meets", for example, where listeners are encouraged to write or telephone questions to the resident experts. Many of the programmes listed above as examples of radio programming used a similar forum method of presentation, or more often a straightforward lecture method.

No examples were found of the use of case study material, sound archives or other attempts to exploit the full potential of sound broadcasting for adult education purposes. Documentary programmes from general output and, once again, schools programmes were more adventurous in using the familiar range of radio methods.

The Overall System Reviewed

Fig 7.1 below shows the structure and process of adult education broadcasting in the DDR from policy making (the State Committees) through production to utilisation. It also illustrates the feedback system (mainly informal) to producers from the various educational bodies.

As the diagram indicates there are five organisations which between them account for virtually all adult education broadcasting activity in the DDR: the separate radio and TV bodies on the one hand, ZIFF, Urania and the Institut für Weiterbildung on the other. The most important and obvious general comment to be made about this activity is that it is quite modest in scope and quantity. It could be argued that only one or two series are genuine adult education series, made for that purpose. The exclusively adult series made for merchant seamen and teachers were undoubtedly in this category. It seems reasonable however to add two other types of programming. First of all, the school programmes re-broadcast at times suitable for adults are apparently extensively used by them for serious study purposes. Secondly, the Urania-linked series on both radio and TV, while popular in intent and in their mode of utilisation, are frequently supported by print materials which facilitate more intensive study based on the programme.

Perhaps surprisingly in such a centralised state system, activities relating to adult education broadcasting are only loosely co-ordinated. The INSET programmes are planned and scripted in some detail in the Institut, before being passed to the TV producers. ZIFF performs a more general planning function, collaborating closely with schools over transmission times and deciding on the overall content of the series, but leaving production details, including script writing, very much to the broadcasters. Elsewhere, initiatives seem to be left entirely to the broadcasters. Bodies such as Urania or the VHS rarely appear to play any role in suggesting priorities or specific ideas. Still less is there any impression of the Ministry of Education, or the State Radio or TV committees seeing any potential in adult education broadcasting (as opposed to general 'mobilising' or consciousness raising) for fulfilling socio-educational aims or objectives. Much more in evidence is the requirement for the general output of broadcasting, particularly news, current affairs and documentaries, to play its part, together with the other mass media, in acting as a "tribune of socialist democracy . . . as elements of our total educational and educative systems" (as quoted in Chapter Four, p192).

Part of the reason for this relatively minor role allocated to adult education broadcasting may be simply economic in nature. Video recorders, like other consumer durables in the DDR, are in short supply even in official institutions. More modern technology is as yet hardly contemplated. Much poorer countries have of course made extensive use of such forms of broadcasting technology so it is ultimately a question of nationally chosen priorities. Very high priority is placed on the education system as a whole. It is indeed, at least in terms of the overall objectives of the State, a highly efficient one. The major

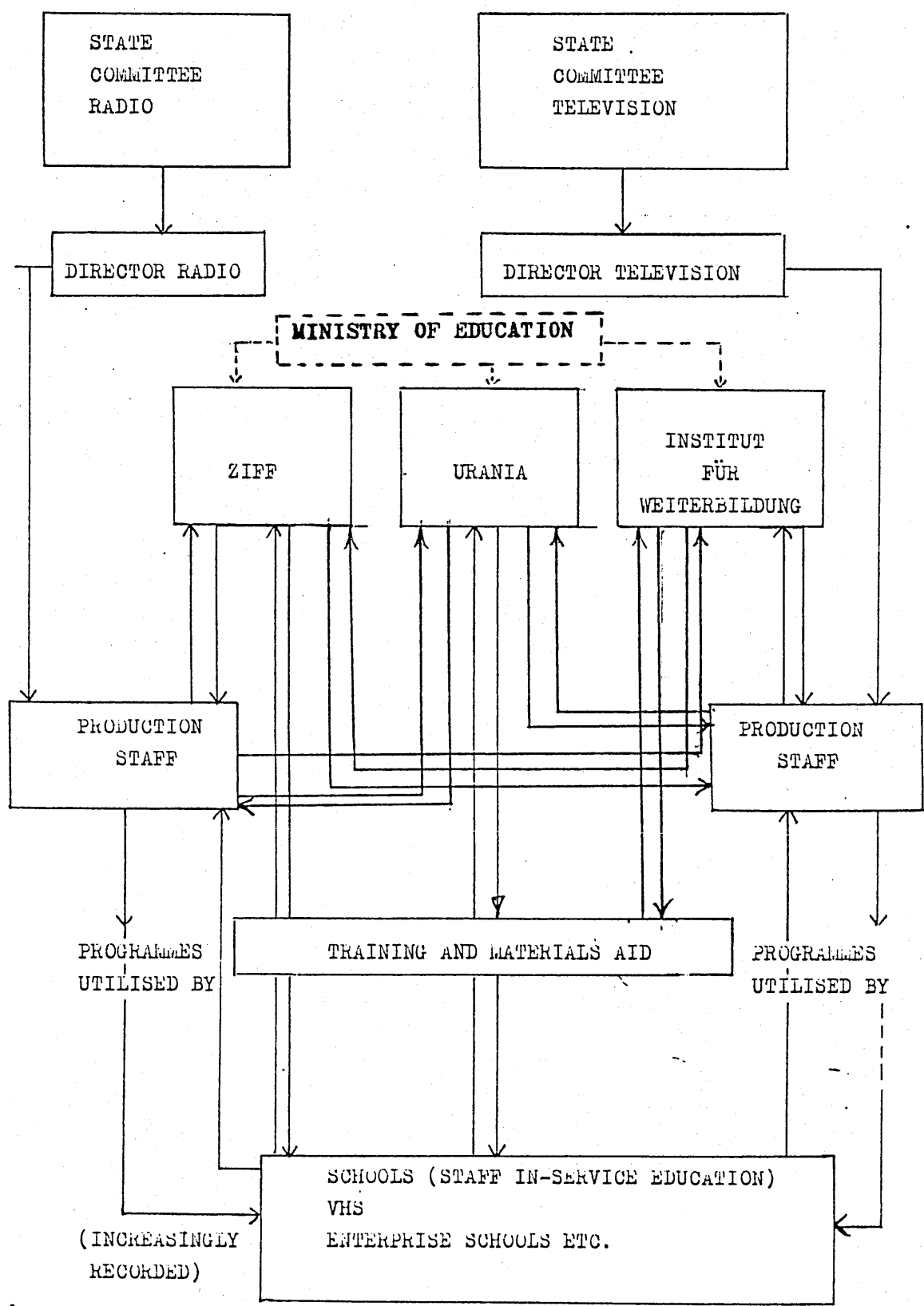


Fig 7.1 Structure and Process in DDR Adult Education Broadcasting

roles allocated to adult education broadcasting elsewhere however, eg helping specific needy sections of the population to acquire particular skills or knowledge, or the more generally enriching task of assisting personal development - would be seen as generally unnecessary in the DDR. The highly vocational, largely workplace based educational system is probably well able to deal with needs of a vocational nature, such as professional updating, or the passing on of skills associated with new technologies. Individual preferences related either to a wish for career change, or personal development of the kind central to the liberal ideal of adult education, would not be seen as important in terms of the overall and openly stated aims of DDR state socialism.

In terms of our thesis, what seems to be emerging in the light of this examination of the very limited adult education output of DDR radio and TV is the considerable significance of broadcasting technology in decision making in this area - at least equal in importance to generally cultural or purely ideological influences. While it may be argued that broadcasting technology is ultimately also a matter of national goal-setting and therefore ideology, it seems a truer summary of the situation to say that the general level of the economy and of broadcasting technology in the DDR has not presented the physical opportunities for developments in adult education broadcasting available elsewhere. This factor, together with the absence of any strongly felt needs in adult education of a kind which broadcasting could help to meet has largely determined the overall pattern of adult education broadcasting in the DDR today.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

ADULT EDUCATION AND BROADCASTING IN THE BRD

The Educational and The Educative - The Impact of 'Holocaust' in the BRD

A richly instructive example of the conceptual difficulties involved in analysing this field may be found in the unique multimedia impact made in the BRD by the showing of the American TV series 'Holocaust' in January 1979. It illustrates particularly the often facile nature of many distinctions commonly made about education and the broadcast media, such particularly as that between the educational and the educative in broadcasting. This series was not too far removed from conventional soap opera in its dramatic style and much criticised by historians for the occasional inaccuracy of its historical content - yet its impact on BRD society appeared profound. Every evening between 9.00 and 11.00 pm from Monday to Friday, 22nd - 26th January, some 20 million viewers deserted the popular First and Second programme for the usually minority-taste Third programme, to watch a concentrated screening of this story of the persecution and murder of the Jews during the Nazi era. More obvious public debate and general awareness seemed to be accomplished than in the previous 30 years of spasmodic but often dedicated attempts to educate the West German public about this terrible blot on their history.

Many sociological and psychological conclusions will no doubt be drawn from this episode; and it must equally figure largely in any future history of broadcasting and public opinion in Germany. But it is rather the uses made of the screening as an educational opportunity by broadcasters, educationists and others which is our concern here. The

three mass media of press, radio and television were much involved, and some use was made of film also. Amongst educationists, there was an unprecedented response from virtually all sectors of adult education. Some examples may be instructive:

The Press

All newspapers and news and current affairs magazines carried major features and news stories before, during and after the showing. It was a cover story and major feature in 'Der Spiegel' for 29th January 1979. Some magazines, eg 'Monat' and 'Medium' devoted entire issues to the topic.

Radio

Many magazine programmes featured the subject with interviews, discussions and phone-ins over the period of the transmission. Of special note were:

NDR Hamburg's "Kurier am Morgen" (Morning Courier)

BR München's "Redezeit bis Mitternacht" (Chat-show till Midnight)

WDR Köln's "Mittagsmagazine".

Programmes for the teenage audience featured it with particular prominence, especially WDR's "Radiothek" and "s-f-beat". Bayerischer Rundfunk's teenage service made "Holocaust" the keynote of their entire output for transmission week.

Television

Having made the difficult and controversial decision to show Holocaust, the ARD companies then decided on an elaborate preparatory exercise; as Gitta Sereny commented, "probably the most elaborate ground laying that has ever been undertaken anywhere in preparation for a TV event".¹

Preparatory programmes started in mid-December with a Swedish documentary film on the Jewish resistance movement "They Never Gave Up". This was followed in January by two specially made programmes, one on anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria before 1933, and another, shown a few days before the "Holocaust" screening, giving a factual account of "The Final Solution".

But above all, as "Spiegel" noted, television functioned here for the first time as the public feedback system it had always wanted to be - "via Fernsehen kam eine Nation ins Gespräch"² (a nation entered into dialogue through television). And even though only a fraction of the volume and diversity of public response could find expression in the open-ended discussion programmes which followed each evening's transmission, it was nevertheless enough to jam the companies' switchboards as over 30,000 callers phoned in - almost four times as many as during the first transmission by NBC in America. Apart from the expected comments (both rational and from extremist fringe groups) many hitherto unknown documents, diaries and poems were offered. These programmes also publicised details of source materials, courses and seminars like those instanced below. Finally, WDR in a collaborative venture with the Ministry of the Interior, mounted a major research project to enquire into the impact of the programmes, with particular reference to students, the armed forces, and groups with known anti-Semitic tendencies. The results of this survey have been made available as teaching materials in schools.

Educational Institutions

At the Federal level the Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung (Federal Department of Political Education) distributed half a million booklets

of basic information, including a bibliography, to all history and social science teachers in the country. It also made 150 copies of 20 films on the subject, such as 'Nacht und Nebel' freely available on loan throughout the Republic. The response of the Land authorities was more patchy, with notably less enthusiasm for the entire project in Bavaria. But North-Rhine-Westphalia Department of Political Education published 220,000 copies of an even more ambitious folder of teaching materials. This was sent to all teachers in the state as well as 22,000 private enquirers. The Volkshochschulen of this and other states organised many one day and weekend seminars, as did Evangelical and Catholic Church Councils all over the country, often supported by more specially produced materials. The Council for Christian-Jewish Understanding distributed 350,000 copies of a special edition of its regular bulletin to teachers, with the aim of reaching all children aged 16 - 18.

The Unknown War

In the Autumn of 1981 ARD channels (with the exception of Bayerischer Rundfunk) launched an equally controversial series "der unvergessene Krieg". This American-Russian co-production (called "The Unknown War" in America) about the Russian Front in the Second World War, while initiating some educative debate across the nation, has been much more widely criticised on grounds of historical accuracy than "Holocaust". As a documentary it might nevertheless have been expected to encourage the production of support materials, and the organisation of seminars and research projects as did the other series. This did not however take place on anything like the "Holocaust" scale, and as Spiegel Editor Heinz Höhne commented "A great opportunity has been wasted to shed light on desperately important questions of German-Soviet history".³

Much of the explanation for the differing impact of these two series on West German society undoubtedly lies in the social and economic changes of the intervening years. Even the BRD 'Wirtschaftswunder' followed the rest of Western Europe in these years into a period of decline and more sharply immediate economic worries which may well have reduced the enthusiasm for discussion of moral issues so much a feature of the Sixties and Seventies in the BRD. But it is likely that the different methods are also relevant. The "Holocaust" combination of soap opera format with substantial underlying theme developed by other means - but building on interest aroused by television - would seem a clearly successful formula for a mass education campaign. "Der unvergessene Krieg" on the other hand would not be the first expensive, often worthy series using a more straightforward educative approach to fail in its overall impact through lack of adequate preparation, follow-up and general utilisation of the initial public impact made possible through the medium of television.

It is especially necessary to begin a survey of this field in the BRD with this reminder of its complex nature. Quite apart from the organisational complexity of BRD broadcasting - twelve distinct organisations, nine of them 'Land'-based, broadcasting on three TV and five radio channels - both broadcasters and adult educators have over the past two decades put considerable energy and inventiveness into the exploitation of this educational resource. Partly, it may be, because of the dispersed nature of control and policy making, the professional broadcasters have retained a commanding role in the initiation of adult education broadcasts. But in a variety of ways adult education institutions have made a strong contribution also, through monitoring, the encouragement of improved utilisation of broadcasts, the provision

of back-up materials and services, and, in some cases, the initiation of entire projects. It would seem appropriate however to begin with the broadcasters.

THE BROADCASTERS

Consultation and Collaboration

One possible indication of the relative importance attached to adult education by broadcasting organisations may be found in the specific representation of that sector of education on broadcasting councils and committees. The typical 'Rundfunkrat' is a body with important, if strictly limited, powers - in particular the power to appoint the 'Verwaltungsrat' or Board of Management - which in turn appoints the Intendant. So there is some significance in the fact that six out of the nine ARD councils have at least one member representing adult education out of their 50 or so members. Radio Bremen has three and Sudwestfunk four. By comparison, schools fare less well, with only four councils giving them direct representation; and universities much better, with eight of the nine organisations giving them from one-three places. The ZDF Council has two places for adult education, three for universities, and one for schools.

Allocation of programme staff with a specific responsibility for adult education is an even more significant indicator. This is found only in the case of four bodies - BR, SFB, SWF and WDR. Of these, Westdeutscher Rundfunk seems unique in having a 'Programmgruppe Weiterbildung und Freizeit' (Further Education and Leisure Section) specialising in this area. On the other hand total numbers of production staff involved in educational programme making generally seem adequate. ZDF's staff of

eighteen were responsible, for example, for 377 educational programmes transmitted in 1980 - some of them repeats. In general, according to the Senior Producer for this Section, Dr Ingo Hermann, the workload for each producer should not be much in excess of 20 programmes per year. ARD television production appears to be approximately as well staffed, although the situation is more complex owing to the extensive programme-sharing involved. Where radio is concerned the situation is less healthy, with a negligible allocation of staff for education. Frequently, the Director or Group Leader concerned is responsible for educational programmes on both television and radio.

Programme planning involves various degrees of consultation with potential client groups, and in a few cases closer forms of collaboration have evolved, four of the more important examples of which - Funkkolleg, Telekolleg, the Adolf Grimme Institut ('AGI') and the Deutsches Institut für Fernstudien ('DIFF') - are discussed below. In general, however, consultative aspects of BRD programming are beset with difficulty. ZDF in particular has the mammoth task of carrying out adequate consultation with eleven different Länder, each with its own wide range of educational, professional, trade union, religious and other groups. Even where there are Federal bodies to deal with, these are frequently weak or unrepresentative in a society which is firmly bound to post-war ideals of local democracy based on the often fiercely held autonomy of the individual Land.

This situation makes a truly effective nationwide body such as the DVV (Deutscher Volkshochschul-Verband) and its off-shoot AGI particularly welcome to ZDF production staff. They feel that AGI has the means which they lack to produce follow-up materials related to student need and

likewise to arrange effective tutor-briefing wherever relevant. This close collaboration with AGI has on occasion led inevitably to repercussions from other, less effective, groups. One church representative, for example, complained to the Fernsehrat Education Sub-committee "You have collaborated closely with AGI over this project - why not with us?" Few bodies however seem able or willing to provide the input which is so welcomed from AGI or DIFF. Even the universities seem generally reluctant or indifferent so far as the experience of ZDF producers is concerned. Apart from one collaborative maths series used by the University of Erlangen in 1975, there has been little response to ZDF efforts in that direction. The general conclusion of ZDF staff about collaborative efforts in both pre- and post-school education (ZDF leaves school programmes almost entirely to the ARD) appears to be summed up in the remark of their senior educational producer that "collaboration is Sisyphus work".

To some extent collaboration and consultation are easier for the ARD companies as they each serve in the main one 'Land' (the exception being NDR, serving three Lander and SWF, serving one and a half). However the system of financing strongly encourages co-productions or network take-up of successful series. "Deutsch fur Auslander" (German for Foreigners) for example was piloted by HR in 1975 then taken up by most of the other companies in succeeding years. So there is clearly pressure on producers to aim at a nationwide audience, and therefore similar problems regarding consultation to those found in ZDF - albeit with the considerable advantages of working from a local base with all that means in opportunity to forge long-term relationships with local institutions. Similar problems are met too, over the politics of

collaboration. One NDR/WDR co-production involving local unions met fierce opposition from the employers' organisations on the grounds of what they considered the left-wing bias of the series, which was in fact withdrawn before its first transmission. ARD planners and programme makers are also therefore appreciative of the kind of assistance offered by institutions such as AGI, and have frequently worked closely with that body. HR has also been successful in enlisting the support of local universities for the Funkkolleg project and on that foundation later involved other ARD companies.

There are standing conferences between ARD and ZDF to discuss projected educational series and to attempt to avoid duplication. These meetings appear to be considered rather ineffective in practice; but usually succeed in avoiding the more glaring and wasteful kinds of duplication, such as employing the same professor twice to say the same kinds of thing on different channels.

The Programmes

In spite of the warnings issued at the opening of this Chapter, there is in BRD radio and television as in Britain, a useful (if hazy) dividing line to be noted between educative and educational programmes. The total output falling on the educational side of that line from ZDF and the ARD companies is now considerable as regards television series; though decidedly modest where radio is concerned. While exact quantification is complicated by the variable programming of the companies in their own areas, it is possible to offer a useful overall picture of output by concentrating mainly on NDR as a typical ARD area. While there is considerable variety in the mix of arts, educational and entertainment programmes on ARD3 in the different areas, major

educational series are usually networked throughout. Total figures for a representative period are shown in the Table below.

	Television	Radio
NDR	579	130
ZDF	363	-
TOTAL	<u>942</u>	<u>130</u>

Fig 8.1 Adult Education Programmes in the BRD in 1981 (hours) (Compiled from 'Hor Zu')

In terms of 'active' weeks - ie omitting holiday periods - this means a weekly offering for most West German viewers and listeners of some $23\frac{1}{2}$ hours of educational television, and some $3\frac{1}{4}$ hours on radio. Many of these series are informal in their approach as the figures include regular magazine programmes for various groups - eg the deaf, the elderly etc - which include a mixture of information and education, but where the overall intent has nevertheless been judged to be educational, in that opportunities are presented for following up issues and interests, and themes are frequently followed through and developed from programme to programme. The subject analysis which follows includes both ARD and ZDF series presented during 1981 to give an overview of the range of subject matter on offer to most viewers and listeners in that year.

SUBJECT AREA	TV	RADIO
Qualifying and post-experience courses (excluding teachers)	17	12
Teachers' in-service	4	6
Language study (including German for immigrants)	12	19
Maths/Science/Technology	9	6
PE/Sport/Health	7	12
Parent education	7	15
Environmental Studies	7	-
Series for minority groups (women, the disabled, the deaf etc)	10	12
Hobbies	4.6	-
History/Archaeology	3.5	-
Religion/Philosophy	3.4	-
Media studies	2.7	-
Driving/Travel	2.8	-
Visual arts	2.4	-
Consumer affairs	1.7	3
Personal relationships	1.7	3
Psychology	1.6	3
Music	1	-
Development education	0.6	-
Politics/Economics	-	1
Technology and the workplace	-	-
Literature	0.5	1
Others	4	7

Fig 8.2 Subject Analysis of ZDF/ARD (NDR) Adult Education Series in 1981 (% of total adult education output) (Compiled from 'Hor Zu' - for raw scores see Appendix 5)

The two largest categories - series in support of qualifying or post-experience courses and language series - are clearly of major importance. Together they account for 33% of TV output, and 37% on radio. 'Qualifying' courses on radio were represented only by 'Funkkolleg' programmes during the period of this study. These are discussed fully below. 'Telekolleg', which accounted for over half of

all 'qualifying' series on TV is likewise discussed in a separate section below. Of the remainder of TV series in this area, most were the result of occasional and rather miscellaneous attempts to enter this field. ZDF's Studienprogramm however has for many years shown evidence of consistent policy building and implementation in what is generally seen as 'hard' adult education programming, though lacking the multimedia packaging success of Funkkolleg or Telekolleg.

ZDF's Studienprogramm

Since its inception in 1974, 'Studienprogramm' has provided a format for a variety of series, most of which were of the 'second chance' or updating kind. Two 30 minute slots each week at the rather early (though for the German working day not impossible) time of 1630 are used for up to four different series per year. Only one series is run at a time, with the first transmission on Thursdays, and a repeat on the following Monday. The variety within the overall format lies not only in the range of subject matter but in differences of level and treatment. "Why Christians believe", for example (shown in the 'Studienprogramm' format in Autumn 1981) seemed nearer in treatment to "Prejudices", or "Artists are leaving their Ivory Towers" both broadcast in ZDF's more general "Bildungsprogramm" slot at 1615 on Fridays. However 'Studienprogramm' series mostly exemplify the classic Pilkington definition of "helping viewers towards a progressive mastery or understanding of some skill or body of knowledge" and are frequently "planned in consultation with appropriate educational bodies".⁴ There has been a particular emphasis, since the inception of this format, on introductory and updating series in modern maths, physics and chemistry.

The first 'Studienprogramm' series launched in 1974 was entitled

"Einführung in die Denkweise der Physik" (Introduction to the Language - literally 'ways of thinking' - of Physics) and was, like most of the science series which followed, aimed rather broadly at middle or upper secondary school level, updating study for teachers, and at Volkshochschulen, as well as the general public wishing for a deeper knowledge of the subject. Since then, the following topics have been covered:

- 1975 Studienprogramm Chemie (ten programmes)
- 1976 ABC der Physik (thirteen programmes adopting a more basic approach than 'Einführung')
- Statistik im Medienverbund (fifteen programmes)
- Mathematik und Experiment (nine programmes on applied maths)
- 1978 Weiter im Programm Chemie (a thirteen programme follow-up to the 1975 series)
- Messen mit Massen (eight programmes on the new standard units of measurement introduced that year)
- Grundstudium Mathematik (twelve programmes)
- 1979 Grundstudium Mathematik (Part 2 - eighteen programmes)
- Chemie - Auf den zweiten Blick (six programmes of revision work)
- Einführung in die Kommunikationswissenschaft (eight programmes introducing Communications Science)
- 1980 Chemie - Teil 3 (thirteen programmes in a third major series)
- Grundstudium Mathematik - 3 (32 programmes)
- Messen mit Massen (eight programmes - repeat)
- 1981 Leben mit Chemie (thirteen programmes on technological and other issues arising from the application of this science).

The most ambitious of all series in this format was the two year, 60 programme long 'Grundstudium Mathematik' presented under the additional 'format within a format' of 'FIM' - for 'Fernstudium im Medienverbund' (Multimedia Distance Learning). This collaborative project with the universities of Mainz and Kaiserslautern was an introduction to university level maths for intending entrants and others. A pack of learning materials was prepared to accompany the programmes. While no information is available about overall success, average viewing figures of around 100,000 had been attained by the time the second part of this series was presented in 1979. Other Studienprogramme series have attained higher figures, ranging from 2-6% of TV sets, and from 200,000 - 500,000 adult viewers.

ZDF appears to take its responsibilities in the area of science and maths particularly seriously and has produced a useful volume of essays on policy issues in science education through TV, one of which sums up the task as that of "de-mythologizing and humanising" science.⁵ Many of these programmes succeeded in doing this rather well, while contributing to a range of updating needs, and to a lesser extent to the more specific needs of those aiming for higher qualifications. There has been some shift of emphasis in recent series towards the social sciences - for example the 1980 thirteen part co-production with Sudwestfunk 'Reden und Reden Lassen', on the art and practice of techniques of communication; and 'Einführung in das Familienrecht' - Introduction to Family Law.

Language Series

The other major sector of adult education programming was language study. Well over half of the total language study time (63%) on TV was

devoted to series for immigrants, with regular short programmes directed at particular groups. These have usually included throughout the '70's, Italian, Greek, Turkish, Spanish and Yugoslavian 'Gastarbeiter' (guest workers) and their families. Regular foreign language teaching for Germans took up 29% of TV time, with English and French being the most important. Russian, Italian and Spanish occur regularly over the years however and one or two of these three are usually on offer. "German for Germans" accounted for 5% in 1981, and other forms of language and literature study for 3%.

On radio, there was in 1981 an exactly equal division of the relatively much smaller programme allocation between three areas. These were German language study for Germans, German for immigrants and foreign language study.

There has been a significant change in broadcasting policy in the field of language study in recent years. With the important exception of the English series "Follow Me" broadcast language teaching both for schools and in adult education has moved away from direct teaching for beginners. It is now concerned much more with providing enrichment and refresher material and with providing a cultural context for language learning. At the most, broadcasters say, they may aim to establish 'islands of competence' which others can link to the mainland of language skill and knowledge. They appear to have decided (as expressed for example by BR language series Head Horst Weise⁶) that broadcasting by itself has not had a good record of success and that its most useful role is to support language teachers by providing resource materials of the kind described above.

Another significant policy change lies in a distinct tendency to favour English over other languages. The simple reason for this lies in the fact of broadcasting life that there appears to be a permanent guaranteed audience of one million for any English language series. The HR adult education schedule for Spring 1982 illustrated this rather well. Out of 25 series, only two were language series. One was "Follow Me", while the other was "The NOW Club" described as "a (not exclusively) English-speaking talk-show".

Parent Education

The one other area of programming which has received consistent attention over the years is that of parent education. ZDF has a monthly magazine programme, "Kinder, Kinderein Erziehungsmagazin". HR has the weekly "Elternstammtisch" (Reserved for Parents). "Kinder Kinder" has a pre-school emphasis, while "Elternstammtisch" concentrates on the school years, and educational policy making generally. In the Spring of 1982, HR was also offering "Von Spielen, Spielzeug und Spielverderben", a series about play and toy-making.

Other Areas of Adult Education Programming

Apart from these key areas, the general picture is one of an extremely wide variety of subject matter, given an almost equally wide range of treatment, often in fact including types of programme which would be considered documentary or current affairs rather than strictly adult education in Britain. Some notion of the range of programmes and the way they are presented in a typical season may be found in the ZDF and HR schedules in Appendix 2. HR is median rather than average amongst the ARD companies as regards its adult education offerings on the Third Programme. BR and some of the smaller companies have rather more and

rather more strictly educational series; while WDR and NDR, the 'big two' of the North, seem currently to be emphasising the more broadly educative and cultural approach within their respective mid-evening 'adult education' slots. Indeed NDR's equivalent to the HR leaflet shown in Appendix 2 is entitled 'Kultur und Wissenschaft' (Culture and Knowledge). ZDF Programmer Alois Schardt has on occasion claimed unfair competition from ARD3 because of a tendency to stray from their responsibility to minorities in the quest for higher viewing figures; and there would seem to be frequent justification for this claim.*

If the above appears to suggest that serious and sustained adult education policies are maintained only by ZDF in the face of increasing popularisation, or at best ghettoisation, on TV3, it must be borne in mind that the shape of policy making amongst the ARD companies is for many reasons an extremely fluid one. There have been major and innovative successes. Examples can be found in the larger companies and in many of the smaller ones, at least as commonly as from ZDF. Outstanding collaborative projects, from Telekolleg through 'Netzplantechnik' (in collaboration with the Institute of German Engineers) to the well-known international collaborative English series 'Follow Me' have occurred regularly in ARD schedules as have equally successful series resulting from independent company initiatives, such as 'Einführung in die EDV' (Introduction to Electronic Data Processing) which led to 63,000 students of the course gaining a certificate. The

* See Appendix 4 for examples of the different approaches to adult education programming of ZDF and a typical ARD company.

problems for adult education proponents of broadcasting however remain; it appears to be extremely difficult to make long-term plans involving the broadcast media, in the absence of similar long-term planning and consistency of policy-making on the part of the ARD companies.

Even if their categorising of adult education in their schedules is occasionally doubtful, the ARD companies, in common with ZDF, are nevertheless generally outstanding in their presentation of advance information to the public and to adult education professionals, about forthcoming programmes. ZDF and NDF in particular, publish attractive, helpful and comprehensive booklets providing programme details, with times and dates. When one considers the frequent complaints of adult educationists elsewhere in the world about the difficulty of planning programmes of study around broadcast material because of the lack of such information, it is clear that this facility compensates in large measures for any ambiguity about programme type. A well made documentary or current affairs programme can after all provide at least as useful course material for the teacher, in many cases, as the specially made educational programme; and if the format under which it appears eases such problems as those of advance information or copyright infringement, he is unlikely to take too academic a view about categorising a particular programme as educational or educative. Both ZDF and ARD produce particularly good Yearbooks usually including stimulating articles on broadcasting history, policy and finance. ZDF publishes in addition regular surveys of forthcoming programme areas, such as film, television drama and music.

One final resource for adult education having its origins exclusively within the broadcasting sector must be mentioned. "Familie Baumann" is

a German course for English speakers produced by Deutschlandfunk. This excellent course takes listeners from elementary level through six series each of 26 weeks to an advanced level of vocabulary and grammar. Lessons are broadcast on Wednesday evenings with a Saturday repeat throughout the winter months. The well produced accompanying books are sent free to all interested listeners. Unfortunately UK reception at the early evening times used is very poor outwith the SE of England and it seems somewhat surprising that DDF has not tried to improve utilisation of this course by offering cassettes of broadcast material to accompany the books.

Collaborative Systems

There follows an account of three institutions which are, in different ways, examples of highly developed forms of collaboration on an approximately equal basis between broadcasting and adult education organisations: Funkkolleg, Telekolleg, and the Deutsches Institut für Fernstudien (German Institute for Distance Learning - usually known simply as 'DIFF').

Funkkolleg

The Head of Educational Radio, Hessischer Rundfunk, is also Professor of Mass Media Studies at the University of Frankfurt. There is little doubt that Funkkolleg, at least in its inception and early development, owed much to this unusual combination of posts. Professor Kadelbach however, has a clear and firmly held philosophy of educational broadcasting from which the idea of radio-led degree-level and university preparatory study grew quite naturally and logically. He believes in 'Adressaten-orientiert' broadcasting directed at specific audiences, as opposed to broadly aimed programming. He is furthermore

convinced that he knows his audience, in Hesse at least, well enough to make his aim quite accurate.* He also believes in direct teaching as a practical possibility for radio rather than just enrichment. In the Germany of the late Sixties, then, he saw a four-fold audience for such a new opportunity of degree-level study:

1. existing university students facing varied study problems in the over-crowded universities;
2. school teachers and other professionals wishing to update their knowledge or obtain new qualifications;
3. aspiring university students seeking admission by the special entry process (the 'Begabtenprüfung');
4. Abitur students seeking extra or alternative preparation for university.

In addition to meeting the more overt and practical needs of these groups, Professor Kadelbach also aimed to encourage methodological reform and a more critical approach generally within higher education, as well as helping to correct the social injustices entrenched in the existing system of entry through the Gymnasium/Abitur system.

Since the launching in 1966 of the first HR-Frankfurt University collaborative course (or 'Modell' as Professor Kadelbach insists on calling it and the succeeding courses, to underline their tentative and evolutionary status) 'The Understanding of Modern Society', five other Länder^I (plus German-speaking Switzerland) with their respective

* As stated in an interview 20.10.76.

^I Saarland, Baden-Württemberg, Rheinland-Pfalz, Bremen and Nordrhein Westfalen.

NB The early use of the name 'Quadrige' for Funkkolleg (now dropped) came from the launching of the scheme by HR in participation with three other companies - Saarländischer Rundfunk, Süddeutscher Rundfunk and Südwestfunk.

broadcasting organisations and universities have joined the scheme. One new, usually two-semester Modell, has been offered each year since. Annual enrolments vary from 20,000 to 40,000. In addition the lectures are printed by the publisher Fischer Verlag the year after presentation, and by 1976 sales of a complete edition had passed 1,000,000. Many of the additional study materials produced by DIFF for enrolled students of Funkkolleg are also available to the general public; so there is undoubtedly a varied and flexible use made of all course materials. A summary of courses and enrolment in 1982 is given below, together with indications, where available, of the percentage of students participating in group instruction (or informal discussion groups) and obtaining the final course certificate.

		ENROLMENT	GROUP PARTICI- PATION %	EXAM SUCCESS %
1968/69	Understanding Modern Society	3,820	Unknown	29
1969/70	Education	13,495	28.4	28.3
1970/71	Mathematics	25,825	47	25.2
1971/72	Economics	8,247	51	26.1
1971/72	Language Study	16,950	33	23.2
1972/73	Educational Psychology	40,653	19	36.1
1973/74	Biology	19,891	26.5	30.6
1974/75	Social Change	23,097	45.4	22.4
1975/76	Educational Counselling	50,650	45.2	39.5
1976/77	Literature	30,503	31.8	19.6
1977/78	Music	36,537	27.6	18
1978/79	Environment and Health	19,203	17.6	24.5
1979/80	History	34,222	16	20.3
1980/81	Philosophy and Ethics	24,664	Unknown	16.5
1981/82	Man and Environment	22,583	Unknown	Unavailable
1982/83	Law	14,229	Unknown	Unavailable

Fig 8.3 Funkkolleg Courses (or 'Modelle') 1968-83 (Compiled from figures provided by Funkkolleg Zentralbüro, Frankfurt)

The low success rate is accounted for, at least in part, by the large number of enrollees - usually around 50% - choosing not to take any of the tests or exams, but to use the course material for refresher

purposes, or out of general interest in the subject.

Perhaps the most original feature of Funkkolleg is the way in which it has evolved a structure which seems capable of co-ordinating the efforts of a number of independent bodies in a most efficient and economical way. A small 'ZENTRALBURO' in Frankfurt/Main exercises a minimal co-ordinating function with regard chiefly to exams, training of tutors and general maintaining of contacts with the various partners in the enterprise at any one time. Overall planning is carried out by the part-time Planning Commission and its Working Committee, while the Certificates Commission regulates all questions regarding the grading and merit of certificates. Course content is produced by the broadcasting company responsible for any one 'Modell' in co-operation with DIFF, whose publishers, Julius Beltz Verlag bill students for the modest fees and send out the written materials to enrolled students. There are usually 30 one hour radio programmes during the two semester year, with one 'study-letter' or unit for every three programmes. The written materials include regular work assignments, many of them computer-marked.

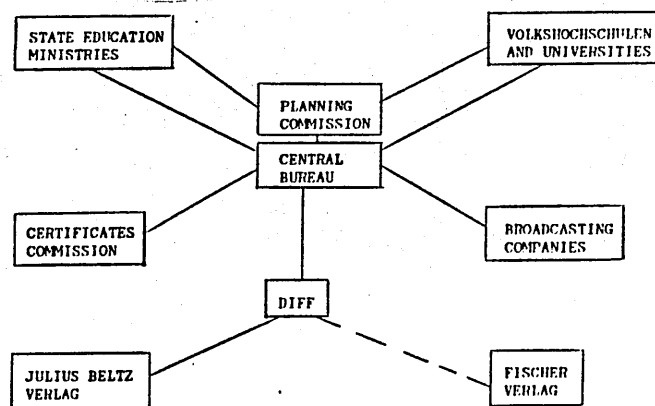


Fig 8.4 The Funkkolleg Network

A full description and evaluation of Funkkolleg as an example of an innovative collaborative scheme offering multimedia distance learning

opportunities at low cost and without an established institutional setting may be found elsewhere.⁸ It is the broadcasting aspects however which are of particular interest here. In many ways, it may be argued that these are the least significant aspects of a remarkably successful scheme. Radio was however central to the whole project in its original conception, not only as a delivery method, but also organisationally:

1. It was the 'leading' medium in that the original idea came from a broadcasting organisation. Furthermore, without the prestige of broadcasting to back it, this ambitious and original concept would almost certainly never have been realised.
2. It is equally clear that enrolment numbers would not have been attained so quickly, or held their consistently high level thereafter, without the involvement of radio. Fritsch has also suggested that for particular professional groups, especially teachers, the knowledge that so many others were participating in the same course provided a certain "Kommunikationssicherheit" (confidence in communication).⁹

Methodologically, three unique functions have been claimed for radio in Funkkolleg courses:

induction and motivation;

pacing of students' work; and

(to a limited extent only) feedback from tutors on students' work and difficulties.¹⁰

In practice the aim of encouraging innovation in Higher Education through the use of radio was hampered by the fact that one of the major weaknesses of university teaching - the one-way communication of the setpiece lecture - proved equally a weakness with Funkkolleg, in spite

of occasional successful efforts to utilise the full potential of the medium through the use of case study and dramatised material. Feedback from students shows little confidence in the relevance of radio to their later study (ie beyond the initial motivating stage). Only 43% in one study saw it as closely relevant; and over half usually found it of little relevance.¹¹ Nevertheless the importance overall of radio remains considerable:

1. as the 'leading' medium in the inception and development of the project;
2. in providing a feeling of 'belonging' and 'Kommunikationssicherheit';
3. in aiding motivation;
4. for pacing;
5. in providing feedback to students on unforeseen difficulties; and
6. in attracting 'Zaungaste' towards greater understanding of university study through listening to broadcasts and buying the accompanying course books.

DIFF

The role of the 'Deutsches Institut fur Fernstudien' has obviously been crucial in the development of 'Funkkolleg'. The German Institute for Distance Studies was established in 1967 at the University of Tübingen with the support of the Volkswagen Foundation and the Baden-Württemberg Ministry of Education. It has since attracted Federation-wide support and is involved in a large number of distance learning programmes besides Funkkolleg. These are mainly research and development projects in multimedia distance learning with an emphasis (though not an exclusive one) on the in-service training needs of teachers. The unique feature of DIFF as compared with other distance learning institutions is

that it does not itself offer courses, but was specifically established to offer services for other institutions in:

1. The development of distance study materials; and
2. Distance study research.

Since 1977 DIFF has been financed on a fifty-fifty basis by the eleven Länder and the Federal Government and its Charter outlining its aims and activities was approved in 1979. Its aim stated in that Charter is "to examine and to realise possibilities for academic study whereby the continual presence of the student is unnecessary (distance study)".

Article three outlines its activities thus:

1. The responsibility of the Institute lies in the development, testing and implementation of academic courses and other distance study courses in various subjects for academic training and further training. It shall carry out research on the didactics and methods of distance study.
2. In particular, the Institute should promote academic learning and in-service subject training for teachers.
3. The Institute co-operates with universities - in particular with the University of Tübingen - and other educational agencies and aids them in the introduction, testing and implementation of distance study.
4. The Institute is guaranteed academic freedom in research and teaching.¹²

While its Funkkolleg collaboration has been its major venture in the field of print support for broadcast study materials, DIFF has engaged in similar collaborative ventures with ZDF and Telekolleg (as described elsewhere in this Chapter). Reference is also made elsewhere to

relevant research and evaluation reports from DIFF, some of which include examination of the role of broadcasting in a multimedia learning system.

Telekolleg

During the same mid-sixties years when radio, through Funkkolleg was spearheading an innovative project in the wider dissemination of higher education, another project was taking shape using television to extend middle-school education amongst adults seeking more vocationally oriented qualifications. The well-known 'Telekolleg' began as a collaborative project of Bayerischer Rundfunk and the Land of Bavaria and is, to an even greater extent than Funkkolleg, a well developed example of the socially purposive use of broadcasting to meet specific national and personal needs in education.

1. Development and Present Structure and Organisation

The boom years of the BRD 'Wirtschaftswunder' had, as described in Chapter Two, met with a somewhat belated response from the education system, in providing the necessary skilled manpower, notably at the level of the basic vocationally oriented skills and knowledge, provided, in the main, by courses leading to the 'Mittlere Reife' or 'Fachschulreife' examinations. The development of the 'Berufsaufbauschule' met this need to some extent by catering for the needs primarily of young school leavers who could obtain that qualification (roughly equivalent to a group of nine 'O' levels, or an equivalent 'BEC' or 'TEC' qualification) by two years of evening study followed by one year of day release. This left a great deal of unmet demand in the employment sector, but, even more important for the ethos of that time, a considerable failure in educational 'Chancengleichheit'

for many adults who had passed through the educational sector at a time when Grundschule or Volksschule constituted for the majority the limit both of provision and expectation. So for both personal and socio-economic reasons there was a strong need for some sort of 'second chance' opportunity for adults in the broad vocational sector for which the Mittlere Reife was the key to success; and the only provision lay in the youth oriented Berufsaufbauschulen, or the limited and arduous route of the 'Zweiter Bildungsweg' based on the Mittelschulen.

Another important factor in the institution of Telekolleg was the straightforward enthusiasm within BR for experiment in extending the use of educational TV, till then seen in the BRD largely in terms of enrichment, both in school and adult education. BR had been first to transmit a Third Programme in 1964, had soon thereafter started the first Schools TV and then its 'Studienprogramm' for adults which before long were presenting the first direct teaching programmes. Encouraged by the Bavarian public ^{response} to these series, BR staff began negotiations with the Land authorities which finally bore fruit two years later in the launching of Telekolleg - an innovative and still, almost two decades later, highly unusual form of partnership between an independent broadcasting organisation and the state.

In the agreement signed on 4th November 1966 by the BR Intendant, Christian Wallenreiter and Dr Ludwig Haber, Bavarian Minister for Education and Culture, the foundation was laid for the launching of a multimedia course offering based, as regards content, on the Berufsaufbauschule courses leading to the Fachschulreife examination, but using a methodology employing the full range of distance learning resources as well as integrated opportunities for face-to-face teaching.

The agreement stipulated:

1. that BR would undertake to provide for the full Berufsaufbauschule curriculum by a combination of television and appropriate supporting print material; and
2. that the Ministry would undertake the provision of face-to-face teaching at times and places suitable for adults in full-time employment, the supervision of written work and the organisation of examinations.

The State authorities also issued a general directive to all Berufsaufbauschulen and similar institutions to co-operate with Telekolleg - mainly, one may assume, in the provision of information and in recruiting part-time staff for course writing, presentation and tuition - though this was not clearly stipulated. Their input in these various ways was in any case forthcoming, and was vital to the success of the scheme.

The Volkswagen Foundation also became involved at an early stage, principally in the funding of independent research and evaluation of the project carried out by the University of Munich. An independent publisher, TR Verlag, Munich eventually (in 1969) also joined the group or participating bodies and undertook the publication of print materials, collection of fees and dispatch of course materials and information to students.

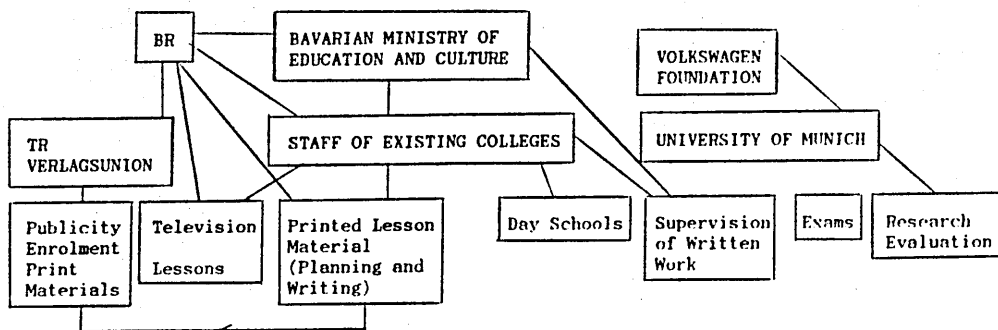


Fig 8.5 Structure and Function in Telekolleg

The unwieldy alliance of institutions pictured in Fig 8.5 set out then, in January 1967 to present the first fully integrated multimedia distance learning course ever offered in Germany. That it was made to work reasonably efficiently from the outset had much to do with the enthusiasm of all the staff concerned under the leadership of Alois Schardt, the BR producer in overall charge of Telekolleg during its first years. The enthusiastic public response had also however, much to contribute to that success. The first response was indeed somewhat unrealistically enthusiastic on the part of many of the first group of students. The first intake of 8,840 soon dropped to around 5,000 or so serious students of whom 3,700 sat the first stage exams in September of that year. At the conclusion of the course in 1968, 2,983 eventually took the final exam, of whom 2,878 obtained the Fachschulreife.

Enrolment figures have since settled down to a steady 2 - 3k for each two year (six 'trimester' or terms) course offered, with a steadily decreasing drop-out rate on each successive course. In all, some 22,000 students have (up to July 1982) successfully completed a Fachschulreife course through Telekolleg in Bavaria alone, in spite of a temporary break in the full scheme during 1973-76, when for various reasons only cassettes and written materials were offered. The other Länder, which have since participated in Telekolleg - Baden-Württemberg, Rheinland-Pfalz, Saarland and Nordrhein-Westfalen - have together produced a similar number of successful candidates. HR has made use of course material on a more selective basis, as have Austrian TV and the German language services of Swiss TV.

In 1972 two higher level programmes were launched - 'Telekolleg II' and 'Telekolleg für Erzieher'. The first of these offered study beyond

Fachschulreife to Abitur level. Telekolleg II was an even more complex collaborative undertaking than Telekolleg I, involving as it did the following bodies:

GOVERNMENT

The Ministries of Education and Culture of:

Baden-Württemberg
Rheinland-Pfalz
Saarland
Bavaria
Nordrhein-Westfalen

BROADCASTING

Sudwestfunk

Bayerischer Rundfunk
Westdeutscher Rundfunk

together with:

TR Verlagsunion

and also observers from:

Die Erziehungsdirektorenkonferenz Schweiz (Association of Swiss Directors of Education)
The Austrian Ministry of Culture

Schweizerische Radio und Fernsehgesellschaft

"Österreichischer Rundfunk

Fig 8.6 Telekolleg II Collaborating Bodies

Most of these bodies were involved in production as well as locally based student services and a committee, the 'Arbeitskreis Telekolleg' was established to co-ordinate this activity.

The other new venture, Telekolleg für Erzieher, utilised many of the general educational components of Telekolleg II as a basis for an in-service teacher-training programme. Courses using a combination of print materials and - for the first time in Telekolleg projects - radio, covered the professional areas of pedagogy, psychology and sociology. Various Colleges of Education provided the necessary face-to-face teaching and supervision of practical work to meet the needs of the qualification of 'Staatlich anerkannter Erzieher' (state-certified teacher).

In the mainly South German Länder involved there now exists, then, a

comprehensive, well-integrated multimedia learning system offering a variety of links with the rest of the education system as well as qualifications directly useful for career purposes. Fig 8.7 sets out the extent of this integration.

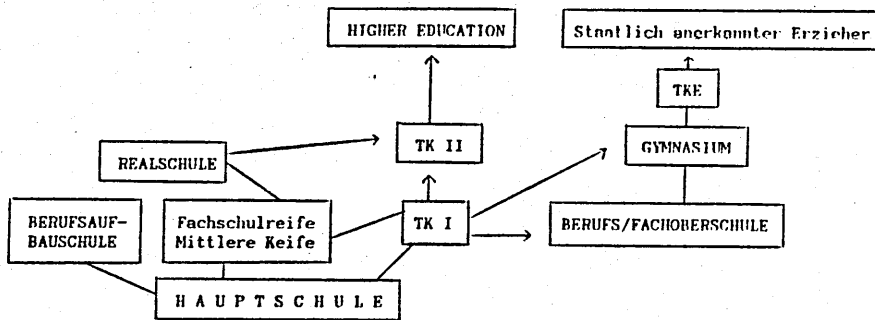


Fig 8.7 Telekolleg and the South German Education System

For a fuller understanding of Telekolleg and particularly of the role played by television within its learning system it will be necessary to concentrate on the longer established and better researched TK I. The basic features of the learning system offered in the current course (the eighth complete two year course since Telekolleg began in 1967) are outlined below.

2. Telekolleg I Today

1. TK is not 'open' in the sense in which the British Open University is open. A Hauptschule Certificate with at least 'satisfactory' grades in German and Arithmetic is the minimal requirement for full registration, including the right to day school tuition. However any intending student without such qualification may sit an entrance exam in German or Arithmetic in the centre responsible for the local TK 'Kollegtag' or day school.
2. Attendance at these day schools, which meet every two or three weeks, is obligatory for all students intending to sit the Fachschulreife exam.

3. Courses last for six 13-week terms, from September of the first year until July of the second year of each course. There is no overlap of courses, so anyone missing, for example the September 1982 registration, had to wait until 1984 when Course No 9 began.
4. One reason for imposing this rigid two year cycle appears to be the strong emphasis placed on television within the TK learning system (in spite of a good deal of research which casts considerable doubt on its importance as actually used by students - see below). The five early evening transmissions on weekdays followed by weekend repeats are regarded as central to the student's study programme. Details vary from Land to Land, but transmission times on BR for example are currently 1745 - 1815 on weekdays with repeats on Saturday from 1600 - 1700 and on Sunday 1000 - 1130.
5. Student costs are DM20 (in 1982) for registration followed by amounts varying from term to term and according to subject area for books and other print materials. These could be as much as DM108 per term; but rarely much more than DM500 for the whole course. There are no separate fees for day school or other tuition or for examinations, so DM520 plus postage and possible travel costs would cover a complete two year course at current rates.
6. Students must enrol in one of five subject areas related to their present job, further vocational training, or career plans. The career courses are as follows:
 1. General Commercial
 2. General Technical
 3. Retail Trade
 4. Domestic Science, Social Work and Teaching
 5. Agriculture

Most of their studies however will be in the seven common subject

areas obligatory for all students:

German	English
History	Chemistry
Physics	Maths

Social Studies (mainly Politics and Citizenship)

There is one optional subject: 'Physical Technology' (Energy, Automatic Systems, Information Technology). The rest are obligatory for particular career areas:

SUBJECT	CAREER AREA
Technical Drawing	1 and 2
Economics	
Management Studies	3
Accounting	
Biology	
Health Education	4 and 5

7. In the 1982-84 Calendar shown below, the central function allotted to television in the course structure is clearly evident.

	Montag 17.45 Uhr	Dienstag 17.45 Uhr	Mittwoch 17.45 Uhr	Donnerstag 17.45 Uhr	Freitag 17.45 Uhr
1. TRIMESTER Sept.-Dez. 82	Deutsch 1-13	Mathematik Algebra 1-13	Englisch 1-11 Übungen 1 und 2	Im TK lernen 1-6 Zeichnen in der Technik 1-7	Einführung in die Geschichte 1-6 Geschichte 1-7
2. TRIMESTER Jan.-März 83	Deutsch 14-26	Mathematik Geometrie 1-13	Englisch 12-22 Übungen 3 und 4	Physik 1-13 Kraft und Bewegung	Geschichte 8-20
3. TRIMESTER April-Juli 83	Deutsch 27-39	Mathematik Algebra 14-26	Englisch 23-32 Übungen 5-7	Physik 14-26 Druck und Wärme	Geschichte 21-26 Sozialkunde 1-7
4. TRIMESTER Sept.-Dez. 83	Deutsch 40-52 14-täglich	Mathematik Geometrie 14-26	Volks- wirtschafts- lehre 1-13	Physik 27-39 Licht und Atom	Sozialkunde 8-20
5. TRIMESTER Jan.-März 84	Chemie 1-13	Mathematik Algebra 27-39	Englisch 33-42 Übungen 8-10	Physik 40-52 Elektrizität und Magnetismus	Sozialkunde 21-26 Biologie 1-7
6. TRIMESTER April-Juli 84	Deutsch 53-65	Gesundheitslehre 1-6 Physikalische Technologie 1-7	Englisch 43-52 Übungen 11-13	Betriebswirtschaftslehre und Rechnungswesen 1-13	Biologie 8-20

Die Rundfunkanstalten behalten sich Änderungen des Ausstrahlungsplanes vor, wenn diese aus technischen bzw. organisatorischen Gründen erforderlich werden sollten.

Fig 8.8 Telekolleg Calendar for 1982-84

TK set out in 1967 with rather modest aims and intentions. It was believed widely at the time by many educationists (including TK staff) that there was a clear but limited social need to be met for a limited pool of likely applicants which would probably dry up after a few courses. Instead there has been a decade and a half of almost uninterrupted growth, expansion into new geographical areas beyond Bavaria and beyond the BRD; and into the new course levels of TK II and TKE. In spite of this overall success, not all the original social aims have been fulfilled. TK was seen for example, as a means of social betterment for workers in the traditional agricultural, forestry and related woodworking occupations in rural Bavaria. TK students have in fact turned out to show a relatively poor representation of these occupational categories, while office workers, motor mechanics and electricians are twice as numerous in TK I as in the general population and technicians five times as common. However Schorb, in discussing these figures¹³ points out that if one classifies students according to their parents' occupations, a much heavier representation of the more traditional occupations is evident, indicating the likelihood that TK is for many a stepping stone in career and social advancement along a route which they have begun earlier and independently. Similar comments have been made on social structure in the UK Open University student population.¹⁴

The steadily increasing demand for TK I and for the further opportunities of TK II and TKE occurred during a period when its 'formal' equivalent the Berufsaufbauschule showed a nationwide decline from 60,000 to 27,000 as the post-war population wave passed through the system. What had been seen as a modest low-cost expedient to offer 'Chancengleichheit' to those adults missed out by the educational

reforms of the Sixties had taken its place as a permanent alternative to the traditional forms of education in the BRD. Indeed new social arguments for TK were presented as the 'Wirtschaftswunder' gave place to the increasing inflation and unemployment of the Seventies. One of the arguments for recommencing the full TK system again in 1976 (after a three year period when learning materials only were offered) was that it would provide a useful means of alternative education for the unemployed, including particularly unemployed young people. As Schorb comments "If the Fachschulreife was a symbol of social advancement in the early years of TK it had now become in these changed circumstances a means of preventing social decline".¹⁵ It has furthermore shown itself able to perform these functions at an extremely modest cost. While there are undoubtedly hidden overheads involved in such a widely collaborative project, one may accept as a reasonable estimate of those costs peculiar to TK organisations and materials production that offered by Schorb¹⁶ of DM308 per student in 1975. This was at a time when each Realschule pupil cost the state DM3060 and each Berufsaufbauschule student DM1900 for the completion of the equivalent course in these institutions. This figure did not in fact take into account the many other users of TK materials on an informal basis.

The value of TK to many who did not wish to take the Fachschulreife exam became apparent very early in its development. As a result, the Second Course offered three types of enrolment:

- A those wishing to take the exam
- B those wishing to take individual subjects
- C those wishing only to receive material without sitting exams or attending group sessions.

Though TK itself now concentrates only on Category A, the other types of use are still possible through the ready availability of all course materials - including video cassettes of all TV programmes. The materials are widely used in Volkshochschulen, schools, colleges, prisons, in industrial in-service schemes and elsewhere. Not least in this 'fringe' benefit of TK materials must be counted the general viewer, who appears to rate TK programmes highly. In the first year of TK transmissions, over 5% of BR viewers watched TK German and Maths regularly and around 10% English, History and Physics.¹⁷ Nine years later, in October 1976, a survey by the TV magazine 'Gong' of readers' favourite educational programmes showed a continuing strong preference for TK programmes over all educational series - many of them in an apparently more popular and more readily assimilable format (eg 'Skigymnastics') or covering more 'popular' subjects (cosmetics, popular psychology, etc).

3. Research and Evaluation in Telekolleg

Partly because of the Volkswagenstiftung assistance, research and evaluation have always played an important part in TK developments. Good use was made of these research findings in the first years of growth, as staff capitalised on the relatively short production period of around seven weeks. This meant that experience of student difficulties (little or no use was made of piloting course materials), inadequacies in TV or written materials or in their means of delivery, could quickly be fed into subsequent course production. However modest funding and the need to make the greatest possible use of materials once produced, meant that no programme of periodic remakes or revision could be initiated on a regular basis.

The TK II Feedback System

An interesting and innovative refinement of this feedback process was introduced with the launch of TK II, with the aim of ensuring maximum utilisation of research findings. The system works as follows:

1. After each transmission, 300 viewers constituting a structured sample of students from four BRD states fill in and return a questionnaire.
2. The Educational Research Institute of the University of Munich then analyses the responses.
3. Results are available three days after transmission. They include information on degree of difficulty, general comprehension of material and time needed for follow-up activities.
4. A team of programme producers and 'Kollegtag' teachers discuss the results.
5. In the next transmission, a three - five minute slot left for this purpose is used by a teacher to clarify problem areas, offer hints on overcoming particular difficulties revealed; and possibly also to repeat important formulae, key sentences, etc from the last programme.

The Role of Broadcasting in TK

While a good deal of interesting material is available from this continuing research activity, it is of course that dealing with the role of broadcasting in TK that is of particular interest here. Before examining these results however the point should be made that all concerned with the establishment of TK were convinced from the outset that television would play a leading and also central role (as we have seen in the case of Funkkolleg and radio, the two things are not always the same). As far as one can judge, this conviction has changed very

little during the intervening years, in spite of a considerable weight of evidence from their own research which casts doubt on this centrality of television in the actual experience of successful learners in the TK system.

The initial BR/Freistaat Bayern document establishing TK gave as the primary aim of the new institution "to utilise to the full the manifold technical possibilities of the audio-visual media in Bavaria to meet appropriate social needs".¹⁸ The experience of the first three years did not change this view of the central role of television. As Schorb summarised that experience. "Usage of TV which does not only develop additional offers and forms of education apart from the public educational system, but takes the decisive step to assume tasks within the framework of the organised public education system, is suitable for considerably enlarging the scope of the possibilities of the present educational institutions of society . . . TV functioning as the principal carrier of this novel educational method is the condition required to achieve a socio-educational effectiveness which cannot be achieved by any traditional method."¹⁹

With this preconception about the role of TV apparently widely accepted within TK it is unsurprising that much of the research and evaluation carried out in that system is concerned with the effectiveness of, and means of improving, the TV component in the various courses. Apart from the system of permanent short-term feedback instituted for TK II, six of the thirteen major published research papers on TK I deal entirely or largely with TV, while one (dealing mainly with drop-out) has major implications for understanding the role of TV in TK I.

The first major investigation of this role addressed itself squarely to two major questions:

1. What technical and other characteristics appear in TK broadcasts which may be didactically effective?
2. How do students react to these factors? Or rather, what didactic effect do they have on learners?²⁰

The methods used were for the first question, a content analysis of mid-series programmes in the English, History and Algebra courses, and for the second, a questionnaire to a random sample of students.

The content analysis examined four main areas of content, using a variety of categories:

AREA	CATEGORY
1. Content description	Introduction; elaboration of theme; manner of proceeding; conclusion.
2. Language	Sentence length; role of subordinate clauses; sentence construction; foreign words; proportion of direct/indirect speech.
3. Didactic characteristics - auditory sphere	Direct address to student, reference to earlier or forthcoming material; lesson outline; reference to accompanying worksheet or other student material; encouragement to other student activity; summarising; questions - rhetorical, real and unreal; recapitulation of important concepts.
4. Didactic characteristics - visual sphere	Appearance of lecturer; eye contact; use of mix and fade devices; camera movement;

voice-over sequences; movement of lecturer; gestures; (the above all measured in time by a Lumiscript Recorder).

The questionnaire examined:

AREA	CATEGORY
1. Difficulty	Degree; quality of material; sentence length.
2. Qualities of lecturer	As teacher; as person; age; subject knowledge; general clarity; pausing for thought; overall impression - impersonal or otherwise.
3. Teaching methods	Summarising; recapitulation; use of visual aids; precision; closeness to life; general consideration for the student's ability to keep up with the progress of the lesson.

Both unipolar (eg hardly-frequently-often) and bi-polar (eg too much-just right-too little) scales were used as appropriate.

Correlation of the results showed some significant features. There was a strong negative correlation between the presence of the lecturer on the screen and favourable assessment by students of a number of important features such as helpful use of summaries, recaps, visual aids and attitude shown to students and teaching methods in general. In other words, the less the lecturer is on the screen, the more likely is the presence of other helpful uses of the visual possibilities of TV. Positive correlation on the other hand was shown between frequent use of recapitulation by the lecturer and all the above mentioned features. There was also, finally, a significant positive correlation between

students' impression of a closeness to life and reality and two particular content features: the use of film and the use of a direct manner of addressing students by speech mode, gesture and eye contact. The most conspicuous result of a factor analysis of the student responses showed that some important dimensions of the study, such as 'degree of difficulty' were made up of very heterogeneous characteristics not easily explained by the usual pedagogic and didactic categories. The overall duration of the lesson, for example, turned out to be less important than the amount of new material, the use of recapitulation and the setting of an appropriate pace.²¹

Some doubt was expressed by the researchers about the validity of the results as regards the overall satisfaction with progress expressed by students. It was felt that the strong motivation of the first group of TK students was probably skewing the results in a way that might make their application to a more typical cohort questionable. For this reason, a follow-up study was carried out three years later using group-viewing, observation of viewing habits and later discussion of the programme. This survey brought out several new features of significance:

1. There was an overall difficulty among students in adjusting to the specific learning conditions of the TK system.
2. The content of programmes was usually too great and the rigid pace led to strain.
3. Programmes introducing general principles and their application to new problems were an especially common cause of difficulty.
4. General study skills were lacking and in particular, failure to take useful notes was commonly observed.
5. The curve of concentration fell off sharply during the last ten

minutes of a 30 minute programme.²²

In general however, this study appeared to demonstrate that students tended to criticise the TK system from the viewpoint of their previous experience and study skills gained in a conventional educational institution. There were corresponding advantages in this system for such students to become more critical, self-sufficient and independent learners, within a learning system which was virtually complete in itself.

The more experienced judgement of students on the overall TK system was derived from a questionnaire completed by all students of courses one and two shortly before sitting their final examination.²³ This provided many detailed findings of interest on individual series. Only one, for example (Physics) was singled out as especially helpful by a significant proportion of students (52%). Electronics on the other hand was singled out by a nearly equal proportion as being particularly unhelpful.

Components of good programmes were also singled out as follows:

	%
Overall clear manner of speaking on part of presenter	87
Comprehensible presentation of new material	77
Sufficient practical examples	77
Friendly personality of presenter	49
Frequent summaries and recapitulations	40
Friendly atmosphere overall	34
Use of tables, diagrams, pictures	25
Humour	19

It followed that criticism related to these factors:

Could not always follow the programme	19
Too much new material	16
Insufficient teacher explanation	10
Too little use of recapitulation	8

In general a picture emerged of a good programme as relating (in

students' eyes) very strongly to a good presenter, who delivered a practical, clearly outlined lesson, with not too much content for students to grasp easily.

Perhaps the most interesting finding however for an overall assessment of the importance of broadcasting in the TK system as these first students saw it was their answer to the questions "What did you find the most important component and the least important component respectively of your TK course as between television, the Kollegtag and the written materials? The answers were as follows:

	MOST IMPORTANT	LEAST IMPORTANT (%)
Television	50	14
Written Material	38	24
Kollegtag	12	62

An interesting light is cast on these results by a later study of drop-out in TK I.²⁴ This showed a significant difference between drop-outs and students who eventually completed the course with regard to the importance they placed on television. While 77% of drop-outs rated it as very important, only 46% of continuing students gave it a similar rating. Almost identical proportions in each group thought it would never or seldom be possible to miss a broadcast and study only from the written materials. Over half of continuing students thought they could occasionally or even usually (15%) miss TV programmes. These findings appear, to say the least, to bring into considerable question the continuing and confident emphasis on the central importance of TV made in all descriptions of TK emanating from that institution or from independent evaluations made of it since these first important research projects.

Two more narrowly focused pieces of research and one theoretical study of possible criteria for the evaluation of course-related TV programmes have also emerged from TK and are of considerable general significance. In developing his six criteria for the evaluation of educational TV, Schorb²⁵ admits that the ideal of using each medium in a multimedia system exclusively for the purpose for which it is best fitted is currently unobtainable, because we lack clear criteria for such a refined utilisation of media. He argues convincingly however that the following should apply generally to teaching through TV:

1. It is a decisive characteristic of course programmes that for evaluation, content must come behind form.
2. Nevertheless appropriate evaluation is only possible when the course characteristics are sought for each programme.
3. Judgement must be made, not as a TV viewer, but as a course participant.
4. Clarity of aim and commitment to the course objectives are decisive criteria for a course-related programme.
5. The confluence of the pedagogic and the artistic is a decisive feature.
6. Course-related programmes must be examined within didactically conceived structures.

Of these six criteria, (3) and (4) seem the least controversial. (1) and (2), like (5) and (6), are in some respects mutually contradictory; yet they are valuable in ;that they express genuine tensions which often lie at the heart of effective evaluation of educational TV.

Schorb's criteria (2) and (4), relating to the interaction of the individual programmes on the whole course of which they are a part, are

very much the concern of a study of Bedall,²⁶ which sets out to examine with respect to the TK I English and German courses:

1. The integration of sample unit studies in the whole course (a unit being one week's learning materials);
2. The methodical allocation of course content to each unit; and
3. The course oriented didactic change or development of unit structure during the progress of the course.

The study set out to be both horizontal - ie a study of structures throughout the course - and vertical - ie of the functions of the different media in any one unit or week of work.

Considerable contrast and some resemblances were evinced between the two courses in their use of TV:

ENGLISH	GERMAN
1. <u>Integration</u> - Lessons tended to be complete in themselves, or to link with immediately adjacent programmes.	Single programmes strongly integrated in whole course - also vertically, through different sections (eg Language/Literature).
2. <u>Allocation of course content</u> - No attempt evident to grade and repeat content throughout according to difficulty - eg frequency of use of new words decreased after their introduction to an average for the course. But effective drills were used and repeated in summary programmes.	Little use was made of some content (eg titles of literary works). TV programmes were in general better at this than the written materials, except for writing skills which were well exercised throughout.

3. Didactic change in unit structure The proportion of what Bedall calls 'integrating function' material decreased here too, throughout the course, as that of new material increased. These were 1:1 initially, decreasing to 1:5 towards the end.
- The firm pattern used in programmes soon produced a student-presenter understanding which made possible a rapid fall off in the proportion of explanation and instruction. This amounted to 25% of material in the early programmes - only 2-4% in the concluding ones. This rigid patterning however made it difficult to increase the type and extent of student activity.

Bedall was also responsible for an innovative study of teaching through TV as a form of small group teaching.²⁷ The principal conclusions of this detailed study, involving the use of tutor administered questionnaires in a number of Kollegtag settings, were as follows:

1. PRACTICAL - TV learning is a social situation for the viewer, so small group dynamics came into operation. They are effective however, only when the presenter is accepted as a 'good teacher'. If not, there is a greater likelihood of drop-out or neglect of the subject. It is important, therefore for the TV teacher to take account of this aspect of his role and to contribute to the building up of group feeling by such methods as the use of rhetorical or 'nonne' questions (eg questions with an obvious answer), frequent encouraging remarks, eye contact and the use of greetings. This finding implies that the integration of broadcasts into the total course materials does not merely develop pedagogic

- continuity, but also encourages an enduring social relationship.
2. THEORETICAL - A 'null' hypothesis was studied through media situations where no such group dynamics would appear likely - eg the regular viewing of a news programme. This proved somewhat inconclusive as many viewers tend in fact to develop a great respect for news readers. It seemed that any future study of this kind would do better to remain independent of such a null hypothesis but rather concentrate on developing better profiles of teacher and student qualities together with technically improved ways of correlating them.

TK staff appear concerned to make maximum practical use of research findings. The speedy feedback system built into the design of TK II is a particularly felicitous example of the systematic utilisation of research findings to improve the overall learning system. The detailed findings from other studies emphasising questions of teaching style such as the importance of informality and a friendly approach or of the frequent use of recapitulation and summary, are regularly used to improve later programmes in a course. Not much is done, on the other hand, about remaking programmes on a regular basis. For mainly financial reasons, this tends to be done only when programmes are particularly unsatisfactory. An even more significant weakness would appear to be the continuing unwillingness to take sufficient account of feedback regarding students' generally low rating of the overall value of TV in the TK system - and likewise of their actual use of TV as a resource. In the most recently published introduction to TK for new students²⁸ an identical stress is put on the centrality of TV to that made in equivalent descriptions eleven years earlier: "Mittelstück des Medienverbundes TK sind die Lehrsendungen" (The teaching broadcasts

constitute the centrepiece of the TK learning system). The introduction goes on to stress that broadcasts can be replaced "neither by working through the written materials nor by attending day schools".²⁹ This otherwise excellent introduction to learning in a multimedia system then goes on to point out accurately and helpfully the necessary differences of method and approach in learning from TV in such a system as compared to normal TV viewing on the one hand, and the use of more conventional learning materials on the other.³⁰

INITIATIVES FROM THE ADULT EDUCATION SECTOR

The Fernuniversität

The FU (literally 'Distance University') bears a superficial resemblance to the British Open University in its general aims. It differs from the OU however in several important respects:

1. It is not in fact 'open' as normal university entrance qualifications are required.
2. While many of its students are adults studying part-time, the main initial purpose of FU was rather to ease the pressure on conventional universities than (like TK) to contribute towards 'Chancengleichheit'.
3. Secondary aims were "to promote the reform of teaching and to set up a new system of further education, especially for those working in the academic professions."³¹
4. Finally, no regular integrated use is made of broadcasting.

The parallel with the OU is nevertheless of considerable interest as the concept of the FU took shape at the same time and in rather similar terms. The FU was also seen originally as a 'University of the Air',

with a major role perceived for TV and radio. BRD schemes foundered however on the twin reefs of Lander politics on the one hand and the often fiercely maintained independent policies of the broadcasting companies on the other. It was eventually one Land-Nordrhein-Westfalen - which decided to take an independent initiative and launch the FU in September 1975. It has grown to a body with over 22,000 students, 40 full professors, 200 academic and 360 administrative staff with an annual budget of DM70m. Though funding is mainly from the host Land (with occasional contributions from the Federal Government in the form of building grants) admission is open to all qualified BRD residents.

The initial problems over collaboration with the broadcasters, together with certain lessons they perceived in early Open University experience led the founders of the FU to a firm statement of their media policy in the Charter: "Der Fernunterricht der FU wird hauptsächlich mit Studienbriefen durchgeführt" (The distance teaching of the FU will be carried out principally by written materials).³² The minority FDP party in the Land Parliament however pressed through a mention of intent with regard to broadcasting, leaving the future possibility of collaboration with the broadcasting companies open. These possibilities might, according to the FU Chancellor Dr Peters, include a wide range of options, from the simple involvement of FU academics in general educational output at one end of the spectrum; through more specific agreements regarding the recording and use of suitable educational programmes; to the involvement of media professionals at some level in the production of cassettes for use in the FU system exclusively.³³ In practice, FU use of broadcasting technologies has been limited principally to the use of audio tapes. These are used with considerable success in some courses, where one survey found well over half of the

students convinced of their value, and only 10% rating them as unnecessary.³⁴

The interest of the FU for this study then is, in the main, as a distance-teaching institution which has for a number of reasons, pragmatic and pedagogic, adopted a media mix which gives a very minor role indeed to the broadcasting technologies. The remaining BRD institution which must be considered owing to its involvement in the field of adult education broadcasting has on the other hand a very exclusive remit in this area. It is the Adolf Grimme Institut, Marl - popularly known as 'AGI'.

The Adolf Grimme Institute

AGI was established by the Deutscher Volkshochschul-Verband (Association of German Folk High Schools) in 1973 with a broad remit to promote the better utilisation of broadcasting as a resource for adult education and to act as a catalyst for improved collaboration between broadcasting authorities and the field of adult and continuing education. It is financed jointly by the town of Marl, where it is based, the Land of Nordrhein-Westfalen and the Federal Ministry of Education and Science. Its varied services are available to religious, trade union and other adult education bodies as well as to DVV members.

While AGI is best known for its provision of written materials to accompany adult education broadcasts, its functions include at least six other almost equally valuable services:

AGI - Functions and Services for Adult Education Broadcasting

1. Provision of written and other materials for broadcasts either planned in collaboration with AGI or for other reasons not

supported by such materials by the producers.

2. Dissemination of information and advice about forthcoming programmes and series.
3. Monitoring of the use and impact of adult education series.
4. Wide-ranging research programmes into many aspects of adult education broadcasting.
5. Training in the use of broadcast resources generally; and also related to specific series.
6. The award of the annual Adolf Grimme prize for the best educational television.
7. A wide variety of publications includes (apart from the back-up materials mentioned above) research results, occasional monographs, and the quarterly journal 'Weiterbildung und Medien'.

Superficially, AGI may appear to perform a CE equivalent of the sort of vocational and Higher Education role carried out by DIFF. In fact there are important basic differences between the two institutions, which are summarised in Fig 8.9 below:

DIFF		AGI
METHODS and TECHNIQUES	Focus on D/L generally	Focus on broadcasting
CLIENT GROUPS	Operates on a commission basis - in practice, main focus on pro- fessional area	Operates on 'needs' basis, following broad aims and guidelines of DVV
TYPICAL PROJECTS	D/L units for Telekolleg, Funkkolleg, teacher-training	Support materials and integrated tutor-training for TV series aimed at more varied needs eg English Language courses for beginners.
MEDIA LINKS	Strongly integrated, in on- going projects like above	More 'one-off' and occasional in nature

Fig 8.9 AGI and DIFF compared

Apart from the obvious value of its practical services, the overall importance of AGI for adult education in the BRD lies in the fact that

it provides adult education with an informal and experienced voice for discussion with the broadcasters on the one hand (and the possibility of influencing adult education policies in the media) - and with funding authorities on the other - and therefore the possibility of ensuring a realistic consideration of the total available resources for adult education in policy making at the highest levels. In spite of its considerable practical achievements it must be recognised however that AGI faces an uphill battle in fulfilling its true potential owing to the dispersed nature of policy making for the broadcast media in the BRD, and the lack of general long-term planning for CE broadcasting as a whole, of the sort to be seen in Telekolleg and Funkkolleg. As two staff members have remarked, ". . . chance and personal contacts seem to determine which multimedia packages are being produced . . . Even those people who should know about such things cannot at the moment, give any precise details about forthcoming multimedia courses."³⁵ It remains nevertheless a unique institution which constitutes more perhaps than any other observed, a model capable of adoption or adaptation elsewhere by any country seeking to improve the utilisation of broadcasting as a resource for continuing education.

Methods and Styles in Television Programme Presentation

Television adult education programming in the BRD (in sharp contrast to that of Radio) shows great diversity and innovation in this respect. In the case of Telekolleg in particular, in-house research was often focused on these two aspects of method and style, their effects on student learning, and their relationship to different types of content, often with practical feedback into the improvement of programme presentation. ARD sources other than TK, had like ZDF, frequently higher budgets and consequently more opportunity to include

case studies, better graphics, specially shot film etc. Some examples of this variety may be found in a typical week's programming in May 1982. This included, besides a daily keep-fit programme "Tele-Gymnastic" and an educative and informative magazine programme for older viewers - "Mosaik" - the following more strictly educational programmes:

Telekolleg programmes on Chemistry, Biology, Technology and English;

HR III's "Playing with Pictures" - from a series on Child Development for parents - and a "Follow Me" programme;

ZDF's "Introduction to the Law of Inheritance" - from a comprehensive series on aspects of Consumer Rights and the Law.

These covered between them, many of the approaches in the framework suggested in Fig 2.4. The two science programmes were illustrated lectures making good use of laboratory experiments. The Technology programme used both laboratory and workplace case study approaches to its theme of "Physical Technology". The two English teaching programmes showed an interesting contrast in ways of using the task-setting approach. That from Telekolleg was completely and carefully integrated into the course, assumed knowledge of previous programmes and written material and was prepared to stop and explain points of grammar in some detail. "Follow Me" on the other hand was much more popular in format and nearer to the "moving staircase" approach in its general attempt to be as self-contained as possible, within the grammar and vocabulary presented that week. Both however used the familiar mix of dramatised excerpts with repetition of key words and phrases. "Playing with Pictures" used the again familiar case study approach in examining the different reactions to games and pictures of different individuals,

sexes and ages. While there were no particular examples of Category A (a performance insight into another community, or other programmes offering a particular experience) it is in fact one of the commonest methods in general use.

There would seem in general to be few currently used approaches to style and method in adult education TV programming which have not been tried in the BRD at some time. Telekolleg may tend to adopt a more formal approach and other ARD programming like much of ZDF's, to be more popular in format. ZDF's "Studien - Programme" series on technological and scientific updating, however, was as demanding in its expectations from students and as integrated into the whole course in each series as any material from Telekolleg - and at a rather higher academic level.

Methods and Styles in Radio Programme Presentation

Only Funkkolleg programmes and Deutsche Welle's "Familie Baumann" German language programme for beginners, showed evidence of attempting to use the medium of radio for adult education in any way matching its actual potential for assisting adult learning. As already noted, DW's excellent language series employs an efficient combination of most methods found in language teaching by radio - dramatisation, repetition of key phrases, pauses to allow student response followed by the correct answer, with a minimum of explanation and exposition. ARD immigrant programmes appeared to be rather less consistent in this respect.

As already noted from their own internal research and evaluation Funkkolleg's approach to programme presentation has also been rather inconsistent and uneven in its development. Early attempts to use a dramatic or case study method foundered on the more formal inclinations

of the academics involved. An introductory programme to the 1982 course on Law for example was a straightforward lecture. This had apparently become the standard approach for most Funkkolleg programmes by that period of its development.

Apart from these three examples little use was made of radio for purposes of demanding adult learning over the period of the study, apart from the short 'Movement to Music' features on NDR and occasional talks and discussions for parents, women and various minority groups, usually on an occasional basis.

The Overall System Reviewed

Fig 8.10 below summarises the structure and process of adult education broadcasting in the BRD. It shows the complex links and feedback processes which operate from the policy making levels, through production to the various stages of utilisation, staff training and of research.

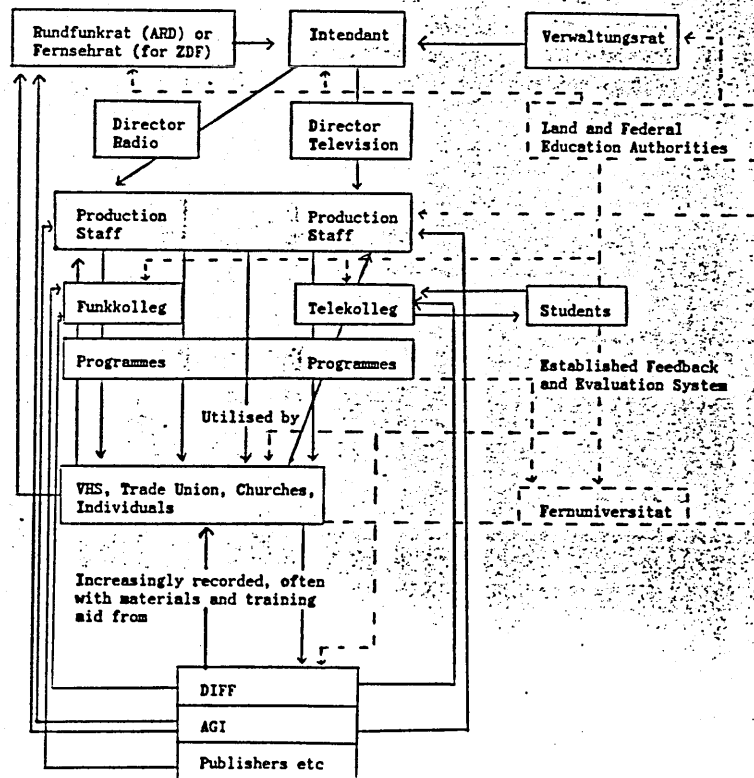


Fig 8.10 Structure and Process in BRD Adult Education Broadcasting

The extreme complexity which is the chief handicap of adult educationists and broadcasters alike in their attempts to develop this resource is due chiefly to the devolved 'Land' systems of government in the BRD. They are affected in rather different ways. The nine Land-based broadcasting companies have their joint ARD machinery to assist collaboration, as far, at least, as production and distribution are concerned. They also have the great potential advantage of the Third Programme, with its emphasis on cultural and educational output. On the other hand, the diversity of the Länder, of their demands on broadcasting and of their willingness to support adult education initiatives has meant in practice that only three or four of the companies have made any considerable contribution to this field. ZDF has the advantage of greater independence and has used this freedom of action (in spite of its relatively more modest resources) to develop a considerable and well-planned contribution across the whole field of educative, informative and strictly educational broadcasting. Of the other broadcasting organisations, Deutsche Welle and Deutschlandfunk are mainly concerned with external broadcasting and are therefore information and entertainment oriented in the main, apart from some German Language and Literature series.

The adult education organisations are even more diverse, being not only mainly Land-based, but also, for the most part, linked to particular institutions within each Land - chiefly churches, universities, trade unions and professional organisations of various kinds. The VHS have a co-ordinating central body and in particular of course the unique institution, AGI, established for the sole purpose of developing adult education broadcasting and promoting its more efficient utilisation. The VHS are also, however, highly diverse in their aims, purposes and

cultural origins and this diversity is reflected in a rather uneven take-up of AGI services.

Against this highly complex background a number of specific collaborative projects in the production and utilisation of adult education broadcasting series have been highly successful - particularly Telekolleg, but also other projects with more limited aims, such as Funkkolleg, or ZDF's "Studien-programm" series. These major collaborative exercises have been designed to improve access in more formal areas, particularly in preparatory study for Higher Education and in commercial and technical Vocational Education. A wide variety of other adult education opportunities were offered during the period of the study covering a broad spectrum of the field of continuing education as commonly understood in Western Europe today - parent and health education, mass media studies, religion, current affairs background studies, basic education for immigrants and many series covering hobbies or other topics related to self-development in general. Utilisation of these non-vocational series appears to have been much less effective in general however than was the case with the three major sources of vocational provision mentioned above. Nevertheless the pioneering activities of AGI in the provision of tutor training, back-up materials and the organisation of support groups of many kinds is making some impact in this area.

The ideological diversity of the BRD is then, to a large extent mirrored in the diversity of its provision in adult education broadcasting. Decision making is highly dispersed amongst twelve broadcasting organisations and a multiplicity of adult education bodies. Federal and Land influence is in general indirect (as in, for example, the financial

support for AGI) and major successful projects have in most cases arisen as a result of collaborative activities between broadcasters, educators and other bodies. The important topic of how these collaborative activities operate will be examined in more detail in the next Chapter on a comparative basis. It is sufficient to remark here that this ability of a complex network of institutions to operate efficiently in a collaborative mode would seem one peculiarly German feature of BRD adult education broadcasting. Another of equal importance would seem to be the emphasis on vocational aspects of adult education.

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CHAPTER NINE

THE TWO SYSTEMS COMPARED

This study set out to test the thesis that despite radical ideological divergence since 1945, common cultural influences in the DDR and BRD are enduring and significant and may be clearly discerned in their systems of adult education broadcasting. The broader aims were expressed as follows:-

- A To increase understanding of the application of broadcasting in adult education by comparing the experience of two countries with a common historic origin but sharply contrasting goals since the Second World War.
- B To determine accordingly the extent to which a common cultural background on the one hand and post-war social and ideological divergence on the other have influenced the roles of adult education broadcasting in these countries and to test the thesis by means of this analysis.
- C To determine, more practically, what lessons can be learned from the comparison useful to research and development elsewhere.
- D Finally, to assess the value of the comparative method in this area as well as more generally, and to establish guidelines for future studies.

The four sections of this Chapter therefore take up each of the above aims in turn.

A General Comparison of Adult Education Broadcasting in the BRD and DDR

It could reasonably be argued that we are not in fact dealing, as

the title of this Chapter states, with two genuine systems in undertaking this comparison, but rather with many institutional systems within each country, often in themselves extremely complex in their processes of decision making and organisation. However the approach of this study has been to concentrate on output from the point of view of the consumer, or student. What educational resources, what opportunities for learning in the form of broadcast and related materials, advice, information, tuition and other student services are available in each country as a result of the activities of these systems? For the purposes of this comparison therefore, this output and these services within each country will be regarded as that of a 'system' of adult education broadcasting. It must nevertheless be borne in mind:

1. that each system is composed in fact of a number of independent, often highly autonomous organisations and institutions; and
2. that these autonomous bodies in most cases see adult education broadcasting as only one (often very minor) part of their overall function.

With that proviso, it is proposed here to discuss these two systems in terms of:

1. Control - Policy making, Structures and Organisation;
2. Production; and
3. Utilisation and Evaluation.

1. The Control of Adult Education Broadcasting in the BRD and DDR - Policy making, Structures and Organisation

The complexity of both systems is indicated in Fig 9.1 below.

Even the highly centralised DDR system involves five autonomous or at least semi-autonomous institutions (two broadcasting and three educational) in major roles. In the BRD, the autonomous bodies involved are almost impossible to quantify accurately. Principal contributors would certainly include the eleven broadcasting organisations and four or five educational institutions with a major interest in the area. Many other educational bodies, statutory and voluntary, are involved on an occasional basis however as well as several publishers. In this situation of highly dispersed control in the West and a relatively more integrated system in the East, one might expect to find more co-ordination and overall planning in the DDR. In practice, the key factor in the successful planning, production and utilisation in both systems, appeared to be the achievement of effective forms of collaboration between the variety of types of organisation whose contribution was necessary for successful operation in this field. As is examined in more detail in Section C, virtually any one of the collaborators involved may take an initiating or leadership role in a particular project. Whether this initiative comes from the broadcasters, from adult educationists, or elsewhere, seemed to be a matter of local circumstances and personalities rather than any discernible general ideological or socio-educational factors. The high-level political leadership and consequent release of major resources which made possible for example the development of the Open Universities of Britain and Thailand, with their major and integrated use of broadcasting for adult education, are not evident in either country under consideration here.

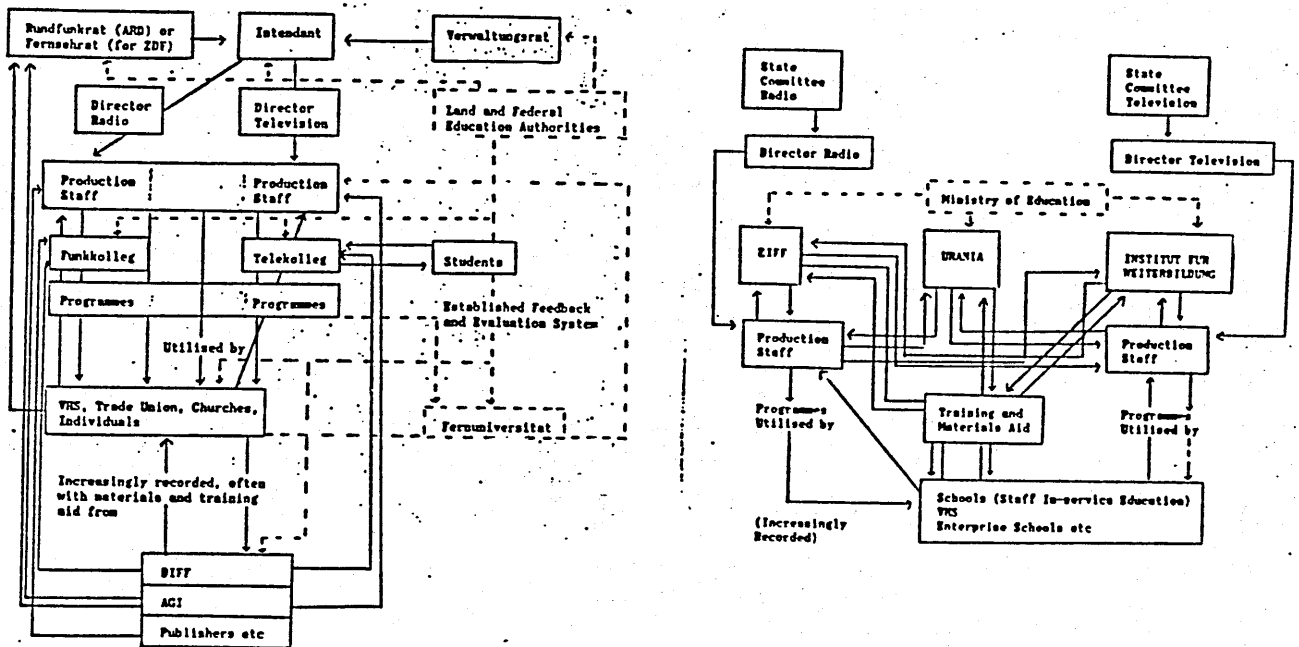


Fig 9.1 Institutions and Relationships in Adult Education Broadcasting in the Two Germanies

The Place of Radio

The major genuine structural contrast between the two systems demonstrated in Fig 1 - and one potentially at least of great significance for adult education - lies in the separation of radio and television in the DDR, and their integration within their different broadcasting organisations in the BRD. As Fig 9.1 indicates, radio and TV are integrated at senior management level in all the ARD companies. In some, this extends also to production. In the DDR on the other hand, the powerful Council of Ministers has appointed separate State Committees for each medium. These committees are responsible for both production and transmission in their separate spheres and have developed

largely independent and distinct approaches to adult education output. This ought to be a structural contrast of great importance for adult education broadcasting because of the opportunities an integrated system opens up for a multimedia approach which takes advantage of the most appropriate features of each of these resources. In practice, very little use has been made in the BRD of such an integrated approach; and some examples may indeed be found in the DDR - for example through the detailed collaborative activity ZIFF undertakes with both media organisations. Neither country can be said to have exploited fully the potential of a properly planned use of the two media designed to make maximum use of their respective strengths.

In the DDR, of the three educational organisations with formal links with broadcasting - Urania, ZIFF and the Institut für Weiterbildung - only the latter appears to plan its output in a way which takes account specifically of the suitability of each medium for a particular type or area of learning. ZIFF appears to base its planning mainly on the advantages of easy recording by users of radio materials, as compared with the awkward TV transmission problems attendant on the continuing scarcity of recording facilities in educational institutions. ZIFF also adopts a rough and ready 'fair shares' approach to the different curricular areas and age levels of the more expensive medium. Urania seems to adopt a system simply of using radio for more academic topics (where the principal interest for the Urania organisation lies in publishing the lectures later in their 'Urania im Funk' series), while TV is employed for topics of wider interest using a more popular format. The BRD can show at least one example of genuine integrated planning using a variety of media in the well-known "Follow Me" series. This ambitious and successful project has not however led to further series

using a similar approach. As two members of AGI's staff were driven to write soon after the first presentation of "Follow Me", "It was called "multimedia" - what has happened to this idea?"¹ Telekolleg, with the launching of its Teacher Training programme, began the use of radio as well as TV; but, as with similar DDR courses, the two media are not used in any particularly well-planned, integrated fashion.

So apart from "Follow Me" (and perhaps the multimedia activity surrounding the "Holocaust" transmission) there is relatively little to show for the more advantageous seeming structures of the BRD; and the advantageous formal links between educational bodies and the media organisations in the DDR would seem to indicate few obstacles in the way of similar multimedia projects there (in a structural sense), should they at any time appear desirable. One could on the other hand argue some positive disadvantages in practice for radio in the BRD systems. Frequently it would appear to have a Cinderella status, being relatively impoverished in comparison with the more popular medium. As the comparison of output below shows, the amount of adult education on radio (in absolute, not just relative terms) is much greater in the DDR and one reason for this may well be the entrenched independence of radio in budgeting and in general direction from its more powerful sister medium. BRD radio seems in general to be suffering more severely than TV from the cuts of recent years. One overall result of this on programming in general has been to reduce costs by programme-sharing - with all the attendant pressures this invariably brings in the ARD system for more bland, broadly popular programmes, to the inevitable disadvantage of educational and educative programmes of all kinds (and more particularly of the sort of contributions to local culture for which radio is so admirably suited).

Comment has already been made in Chapter Five on the relative lack of local radio developments in the BRD. Where it has become established elsewhere in the world - as in much of the UK for example - it has begun to show potential as a new kind of ally for adult education. In the DDR the eleven local opt-out programmes have not so far begun to realise this potential. Little or no initiative to make use of it seems to have come either from the broadcasters or (perhaps more surprisingly) from local VHS or other educational bodies. But at least there are signs of development in this direction, whereas in the BRD, development seems rather the other way - towards less rather than more of the truly local in radio. (Though there are a few recent ILR developments they are oriented strongly to information and entertainment.) Against this it must be noted that the Land basis of all broadcasting in the BRD ensures a strong element of regional culture, often educationally valuable, as for example in the regular NDR series on 'Platt' or Low German language and music which are as significant for North German culture as the Gaelic language and Scottish dialect and music are for that of Scotland.

The Influence of the Educational Organisations

Probably the most important of all the features of the two systems illustrated in Fig 9.1 is the position within them of the various educational organisations. In the DDR, ZIFF, Urania and the Ludwigsfelde Institut all have formally established links with the broadcasting organisations. These links vary in degree and in their method of operation, Urania having the loosest ties and the broadcasting staff accordingly the greatest influence in their programmes. The Ludwigsfelde Institut has the greatest direct influence on programme content in that it regularly provides script outlines for most of the

INSET series. On the other hand ZIFF has the extensive overall influence arising from its close contact with programme-users and its methodological planning with them of programme transmission schedules, back-up materials and to a certain extent also the content and level of future series. At present this important working link operates almost entirely to the benefit of schools, while adult usage of these programmes is largely incidental and less organised. Liaison with adult education bodies such as the Enterprise Schools or the trade unions takes place on an ad hoc and occasional basis, mainly on the initiative of senior production staff. In the BRD system, initiatives are, formally at least, entirely with the broadcasters. The development of Funkkolleg and Telekolleg however has resulted in the establishment of complex course production systems originating in HR in the former case, BR in the latter, but incorporating ultimately wide sectors of the educational establishment in formal, legally established relationships. ZIFF and AGI stand in quite different relationships to the broadcasters, being independent educational bodies which have over the years and in piecemeal ways built up rather fruitful working relationships with them. These different models of collaboration between educationists and broadcasters are analysed in more detail in Section C.

As regards policy making in general, there is little doubt that the most fruitful sort takes place at the level of production staff and the relevant education staff involved in utilisation. Whether the initiative comes from one side or the other seems relatively unimportant - which is not to say that formal structures are not important. The difference for adult education between a production system overtly subject to state control and one structurally independent of it should be considerable; that it is not always obviously so is largely due to

the general lack of positive political direction in this area in the DDR. The complex and comprehensive Advisory structure in the BRD appears equally lacking in any positive impact on policy making in the area.

2. FROM POLICIES TO PROGRAMMES - The Organisation, Content and Presentation of Adult Education Broadcasting

With the exception of INSET programmes in the DDR and Telekolleg in the West, production staff in both countries exercise almost absolute discretion in turning the general requests or advice of educationists (and others) into programmes. Their quantity of output is also similar at around ten hours of new programming per head (ie of production staff) for TV and at least double that output for radio. Total output for a typical year is shown in Fig 9.2.

DDR		BRD		
		NDR	ZDF	TOTAL
Television	225	579	363	942
Radio	200	130		130

Fig 9.2 Adult Education Programmes in 1981 (hours) From 'Hor Zu' and 'FF Dabei' (See Appendix 5)

The proportion of repeats is difficult to determine with any accuracy, but is rather higher - at around 60% - in the DDR than in the BRD - generally under 50%. It is worth noting as regards total TV output that while that of the DDR is only some 24% of that of the West, the total DDR population is 28% of that of its larger neighbour; and some

relationship might well be expected between output of such an expensive resource and a population base, unless of course a particular country decided to place special emphasis on education by this means. DDR radio output on the other hand is larger in absolute terms than that of the BRD. This undoubtedly reflects among other things the greater economy of radio - estimated by a recent study as costing from as little as 7% and rarely more than 30% of TV production costs.² It reflects also the technological problems faced by the DDR with regard to the availability of TV equipment. As noted in Chapter Four much of their programme making is still carried out on film in the old Babelsberg UFA (now DEFA) Studios. So to the smaller overall budget, one must also add the problems caused by lack of hard currency needed for purchasing TV equipment - still not being produced in anything like the required quality and quantity within the Eastern Bloc countries. In spite of these problems, steady progress is being made in technological terms. By 1982 for example, 89% of DDR TV was being broadcast in colour, and over 40 hours of radio per week were being broadcast in stereo. The major contrast between the DDR and the BRD in overall style and quality of production is not, however, ultimately one of technological standards (as noted earlier, DEFA standards are extremely high) but of simple budgeting. Most of the scant available resources in the DDR for educational TV go to schools programming. Programmes especially produced for adult purposes tend to be low-budget, studio-bound and therefore confined in format to the forum, the phone-in, even the straightforward lecture. Adult education broadcasting in the DDR also suffers from being occasional in nature, apart from one or two series like "Neue Fernsehen Urania" (itself only once a month) or "Aus dem Logbuch der Seefahrt".

Programme content from both systems shows in many ways a surprisingly similar pattern (see Fig 9.3) though the relatively smaller output from the DDR constitutes a less than satisfactory indicator. If, for example, the Merchant Navy series were dropped, the 16% shown for 'Qualifying and post-experience courses' would disappear. There is nevertheless a significant resemblance between the systems in the proportions of time given to most of the larger areas of programming - foreign language, INSET, maths, science and technology, health and PE - on both TV and radio. Some areas covered mainly by TV in the BRD use radio in the main in the DDR - hobbies, travel, history, consumer affairs and development education. Other areas are entirely absent or else insignificant in one system or the other. In particular media studies, visual arts, personal relationships and regular features for minority groups are rarely found in DDR programming; while there is surprisingly little formal teaching of literature on BRD radio in spite of the obvious suitability of the medium for that subject; and little or not BRD programming on either medium of politics, or of the application of technology to the workplace (apart from that included in some Telekolleg course material).

SUBJECT AREA	BRD (ZDF/NDR)		DDR	
	TV	RADIO	TV	RADIO
Qualifying and Post-experience (not INSET)	17	12	16	-
INSET	4	6	3	8.5
Language Study	12	19	34	4
Maths/Science/Technology	9	6	8	6.5
PE/Sport/Health	7	12	25	-
Parent Education	7	15	2	-
Environmental Studies	7	-	1	-
Series for Minority and Other Special Groups (the deaf, women etc)	10	12	1.2	-
Hobbies	4.6	-	1	1.5
History/Archaeology	3.5	-	0.5	21
Religion/Philosophy	3.4	-	0.5	1.5
Media Studies	2.7	-	-	-
Driving/Travel	2.8	-	-	1.5
Visual Arts	2.4	-	-	-
Consumer Affairs	1.7	3	-	1.5
Personal Relationships	1.7	3	-	-
Psychology	1.6	3	3	0.5
Music	1	-	0.5	-
Development Education	0.6	-	-	1.5
Politics/Economics	-	1	4	21.5
Literature	0.5	1	-	19.5
Technology in the Workplace	-	1	-	9.5
Others	4	7	1.4	1.5

Fig 9.3 Comparison of Adult Education Output by Subject in 1981 (%)
(From Fig 8.2 for BRD - see Appendix 5 for DDR equivalents)

Methods of Programme Presentation

The chief contrasts in this area have to do with cost and technological factors in the main - and therefore ultimately, with national differences in the overall importance placed on more demanding adult education programming. They also relate particularly to the medium of television, as neither country makes particularly noteworthy use of the possible range of presentation methods available for adult education by radio. BRD television however, showed ample evidence over the years of the study, of all four types of adult education programme suggested in Fig 2.4, for example: programmes offering a particular experience, the illustrated lecture, the case study and task-setting programmes. Only schools programmes in the DDR, on the other hand made extensive use of the learning possibilities of TV in this way, while adult education programming relied heavily on the discussion or forum method of presentation, usually without much supporting graphic or film illustrative material. DDR programmes were on the whole, low-budget, largely 'talking head' productions, which fulfilled quite competently their largely informal learning objectives. BRD programmes, in sharp contrast, used a wide range of usually appropriate methods to achieve a range of objectives, at many different academic levels, usually with some thought given to such matters as pacing, the relation of the individual programme to other programmes in the series, to other learning resources and similar pedagogic matters related to presentation and programme format.

It was clear from the technical competence of the schools programmes viewed in the DDR that (despite the restrictions on production methods caused by heavy reliance on film as compared with more flexible video technology) it was largely the matter of national priorities which

brought about this restrictiveness in adult education TV programme methods. DDR TV is clearly able to utilise a range of appropriate methods for educational programming but has, one must assume, not been directed or funded to make use of them for adult education purposes. The one serious drawback of a technological nature in the case of video, is presumably one which will reduce in time, with the lowering in cost and general spread of this resource. However the absence of any strong direction of programme policy towards the use of TV for organised adult learning makes it unlikely that any developments can be expected in this area without specific political decision-making in the matter.

In the case of the relatively small area of programming with apparently similar objectives, there is a good deal of similarity in programme format. ARD had for many years a popular Sunday morning discussion programme called "Fruhschoppen" (a leisurely, pre-lunch Sunday drink) which bore a striking resemblance to DDR's discussion programme with Dr Katins or Professor Kaul. The German respect for academic authority was evident on both sides of the Border and was central to the format of these and other similar programmes in which expert opinion on matters of the day was sought and received with some reverence.

Radio was almost equally under-valued in both countries, certainly so far as utilising its potential for promoting organised learning other than by the straightforward lecture was concerned. The DDR made noteworthy educative and overtly propagandistic use of the documentary in its many history and current affairs programmes on radio. Not only proportionately, but in absolute terms, its educational output on radio exceeded that of BRD radio. But equally in both countries (apart from a brief, early experimental period in Funkkolleg's development) the

unrelieved lecture method seemed to dominate the medium.

3. Utilisation and Evaluation of Programmes

As Funkkolleg and Telekolleg experience made clear, even in a highly integrated multimedia system, effective utilisation is not always made of the costly broadcasting elements in it. The problems involved therefore in ensuring adequate utilisation of more typical adult education broadcasting such as the DDR's "Urania im Fernsehen" or the BRD's "Erziehen ist nicht Kinderleicht" are correspondingly greater. They are aimed at a less well-defined audience, in general less highly motivated and altogether less reachable as regards encouraging any follow-up activity. It is this informal approach which is employed almost universally in the DDR and throughout most of BRD output; and it is unlikely that there has been any particularly rational decision-making involved in either system in this respect. The decision of the Dutch Open School deliberately to eschew the integrated approach in favour of a 'moving staircase' model (ie each week's programme being designed to stand alone) was a highly unusual one - probably unique in European broadcasting.³ Their disappointment with the results of the pilot, integrated, Open School project led to that decision to accept what they found to be the typical student use of programmes - getting 'on and off the staircase' from week to week according to their interest and taste at that part of the course. The two Germanies on the other hand, like most other countries, have simply vacillated on this matter, sometimes assuming regular use by a constant audience but, in more recent years, coming to realise that this was rarely in fact the case. It is indeed the successful use of the integrated approach, involving regular viewing or listening that is unusual, depending on particular local initiatives, either from the broadcasters (eg Telekolleg); or from

a complex of government and adult education sector initiatives as with the UK Open University. It is on the whole unsurprising that the DDR, with its highly structured and centralised educational system has tended to meet particular adult education needs through the existing system in the Enterprise Schools, VHS or trade union and Party institutions. Broadcasting is seen, in the main, still in terms of enrichment; and specific back-up activity, whether from broadcasters or others is irregular and infrequent in terms of follow-up classes, discussion groups, etc. Only in respect of accompanying literature and advance publicity information is effective supporting activity carried out on a regular basis - and even here, largely with respect to Urania-linked programmes. In the BRD on the other hand the widest possible range of utilisation activity is found. At one end of the spectrum the Telekolleg approach is to build in essential course content to (and therefore to stress) the TV element of a multimedia certificate course. The more loosely structured and integrated Funkkolleg radio lectures are made available also in book form (as with Urania) for a less committed public. The ultimate flexibility of the "Follow Me" format offers the whole range of media and tutorial resources to meet the widest possible spectrum of need and motivation; while NDR adopts a more casual 'moving staircase' approach for its "Kultur und Wissenschaft" series.

A great deal of evaluation and feedback activity has taken place amongst the various institutions involved in Funkkolleg and Telekolleg - particularly in DIFF and in the Universities of Frankfurt and Munich as detailed in the last Chapter. The value of that research for developments elsewhere is discussed in Section C. Research into the wider fields of informal adult education broadcasting has been infrequent on the part of the broadcasters, though more regular and

usually of some significance on the part of AGI. But if BRD research and evaluation can be summed up as being intermittent yet often highly effective and well-utilised for development, little if any resources seem to be available for these purposes in the DDR. A few individual academics such as Born and Born have carried out useful studies; but there seems little organised knowledge of any aspect of the impact of adult education broadcasting apart from that which can be inferred from sales of publications such as the "Urania im Funk" published lectures.

In summary then, this initial comparison of the two systems reveals a general lack of any attempts to co-ordinate at a national level, overall policies in the use of this complex resource in the national interest. While this is an unsurprising conclusion in the case of a federal Western democracy such as the BRD, it is more surprising in the case of a centralised Communist state like the DDR and appears due in the latter case to the low priority placed on this adult education resource rather than to any legislative or administrative problems in effecting such co-ordination. Economic and technological weaknesses were also noted as influencing DDR developments - or the lack of them.

This lack of any particular central dynamic towards development has meant that these developments which were traced came about very much as a result of the activities of individual adult education or broadcasting institutions - and particularly of collaborative ventures involving both. In going on to examine more closely therefore the ideological and cultural factors revealed by this analysis it seems clear that besides more obvious areas such as content and style, these three factors merit particular attention:

1. the lack of any strong central policies

2. the consequent importance of individual and collaborative activities; and
3. the relative economic and technological weaknesses of the DDR in this area.

B THE MAJOR CONTRASTS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIPS TO POST-WAR IDEOLOGICAL DIVERGENCE BETWEEN THE TWO GERMANIES

It was argued in Chapter One that purely ideological differences, affecting overall aims, should be distinguished from differences arising from the more accidental fact that the BRD developed as a highly decentralised state and the DDR as a strongly centralised one. While the latter situation is a natural enough development of state socialism, the former had more to do with Allied fears of the regrowth of a powerful German state in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War. How then did these two distinct determinants appear to have influenced the four main areas (policy making, organisation, content and utilisation) of adult education broadcasting in terms of this framework for analysis?

1. Ideological Influences and Overall Policies Towards Adult Education Broadcasting

From the general comparison of the two systems in Section A, one feature relevant to more ideologically pointed questions appears quite clear. This relates to the overall significance attached to this educational resource as compared with other (for the most part more conventional) methods and techniques. There is in the DDR, first of all, an overwhelming emphasis in their national education system as a whole, on the development of an efficient system of initial education, followed by a strong provision of vocational and general further education for

school-leavers and young adults generally. This system is based mainly in the workplace and extends as required throughout working life to provide efficient coverage of retraining and updating needs. This essentially vocational system, geared very much to national economic need where content is concerned, has developed, as regards organisation and method, along very formal lines. There is a strong emphasis for example, on face-to-face instruction and on practice in the workplace. At all levels, but especially in Higher Education, the traditional German emphasis on academic authority and hierarchies prevails.

This adherence to traditional German emphases as regards methods then, together with an ideological emphasis on national needs and purposes rather than individual choice, has created a situation inimical to the development of open learning methods in general and to broadcasting, as one of the most open of all, in particular. Correspondence education is the only relatively well-developed example of open learning in the DDR. There, as in other Communist Bloc countries, it has developed in ways which maintain the authority and influence of the tutor and the providing institution, in contrast to the tendency towards more student-centred systems in Western Europe. Socialist ideology and Germanic traditions would appear to coalesce therefore in squeezing adult education broadcasting in the DDR into a narrow spectrum of activity, as compared with the more varied use in the BRD.

Another way of viewing this situation (and one more favoured amongst DDR policy makers in education and broadcasting) is in terms of Schramm's guiding principle about the use of the mass media in education - that they should be used to solve significant problems, not just because they are there. Within its limitations as regards individual choice and its

overall vocational and one-sided political emphasis, the DDR educational system is in fact a highly efficient one, particularly from the pre-school level to that of young adulthood. Thereafter 'significant problems' in terms of the prevailing ideology at least do not arise to any great extent and adult education broadcasting is therefore viewed as a luxury as far as the more formal areas of education are concerned. The role of the mass media generally in the broader task of politicising the masses was not of course the subject of this study but is clearly less equivocal. It is not however as uncomplicated a role as in other Communist Bloc countries, owing to the need to compete with BRD broadcasting (and a study of that subject would be of considerable interest). BRD education is, in ideological and cultural terms, a system much more likely to be in need of open learning developments in general and of broadcasting in particular. There is on the one hand, widespread acceptance of the meeting of individual need as an important factor in determining adult education policies. On the other hand, the wide variety of interpretations put on educational priorities over the years by the various Länder has to a considerable extent maintained the educational inequalities of the pre-war years. To the special problems of inequality, the vagaries of the capitalist economic system since the War have added other problems - highlighted particularly in the 'Defects Report' of 1978 on the serious inadequacies of BRD vocational education. This situation might be expected to lead to the appearance of many 'significant problems' which broadcasting would be well-suited to help solve. It is also a situation which is a quite direct result of the freedoms and inequalities consequent upon a highly decentralised, capitalist system.

Militating against this general ideological and cultural openness to the

use of adult education broadcasting however, there is also, as in the DDR a strong continuity of traditional German, formal and authoritarian, educational structures and methods, which have frequently hampered developments in this area. In addition to educational conservatism, the mere complexity of the mainly Land-based educational and broadcasting systems has often likewise been an obstacle to progress. the Fernuniversität's unsuccessful attempts to involve the broadcasting organisations in its learning system is an obvious example of this.

The differences regarding overall policies towards the use of this resource arising from ideological influences are therefore fairly clear, even if frequently of a negative kind - ie it is arguably a lack of any strong centrally derived policy making in both countries which permits considerable diversity of use to have developed in the BRD, while resulting in little such development in the more restrictive and bureaucratic atmosphere of the DDR. This consideration brings us to the secondary aspect of post-war divergence between the two Germanies - the contrasts arising from the centralised system of the DDR as compared with the dispersed, decentralised nature of BRD systems. Here, contrasts are less marked than might at first sight be expected. There is, it is true, great effort put into democratic decision making in the BRD, with its elaborate system of broadcasting advisory councils and mainly Land-based control of all but the external broadcasting services. Education is likewise mainly Land-based and indeed in the case of adult education, control is even more widely dispersed through many religious, professional, trade union and other bodies. Policy formation in the DDR is equally clearly 'top-down' in nature. But in the actual development of successful adult education broadcasting the key on both sides of the Border appeared to lie less in formal systems of control or development,

than in the collaboration of similar kinds and levels of staff. Equally, on both sides of the Border collaboration is undoubtedly found to be 'Sisyphus work' (as a BRD broadcaster commented). This may be in part because of the lack of a strong central policy in either country, but is more likely to be due simply to the nature of this particular educational resource. Even with the support of an unusually strongly integrated system such as that of the British Open University, collaboration between educationists and broadcasters remains 'Sisyphus work' - without such a systematic integration the differences are inevitably considerable, and the German achievement all the more remarkable.

2. Ideological Influences and the Organisation of Adult Education Broadcasting

It is clear from the above that, for different reasons, the organisation of adult education broadcasting is rather loosely co-ordinated in both countries - in the BRD, because the political system actively encourages this approach, in the DDR because inertia permits it where no strong central directives exist. Many varieties of largely collaborative organisation have therefore developed in both countries on a rather ad hoc basis. Initiatives in general lie mainly with the broadcasters in both countries - though the INSET service in the DDR and DIFF and AGI in the BRD have developed different ways of making an effective contribution to the more detailed organisation of this resource. As the details of these various systems of collaboration appear to have evolved for such local, particular and pragmatic, rather than ideological reasons, or because of the centralised or decentralised nature of their social systems and institutions, the more detailed discussion of their nature will be postponed to Section C on the more practical

implications of the German experience in this field.

3. Ideological Influences on the Content of Adult Education Broadcasting

Here, more than in any other area are to be found quite clearly marked contrasts between the two systems. There is more explicit teaching of politics and economics in DDR scheduling (21%* on radio, 4% on TV) all exclusively Marxist in its interpretations. What little content exists in this area in the BRD (1% on radio, none on TV in the years studied, apart from that integrated in some Telekolleg Business Studies) shows concern mainly with such themes as the nature of Western Democracy, or the dangers of traditional German authoritarianism. Religious teaching is also neglected as one might expect in the DDR (though maintaining a regular presence on more broadly educative programming) and has its regular place on BRD schedules. However the major content areas in both countries are, as clearly, vocational in nature, or consist of general education with a strong vocational slant. These similarities are equally striking - 21% of BRD scheduling on television, 19% for the DDR. If mathematics, science and technology programmes are added, the picture remains proportionately similar, with 30% for the BRD, 27% for the DDR. Similarly, in the case of radio adult education, 19% is vocational in the BRD, 18% in the DDR.

Bearing in mind the immense disproportion between the total amount of serious adult education programming available in the BRD and in the DDR, it is not possible to draw any very significant conclusions from these comparisons. They might indicate a common German tendency to take an

* ie of adult education output.

instrumental and narrowly practical view of the function of education. This appears to be at least as important a factor in determining the overall content of adult education broadcasting in both countries, as any differences resulting from a Marxist-Capitalist dichotomy. More specific evidence for the 'common Germanness' theory might be found in the relatively greater emphasis placed on German Literature in DDR programming. This, like the immense respect for their common history, as shown for example in the many DDR conservation projects in the painstaking restoration of old buildings may reasonably be taken as evidence of a positive desire to emphasise continuing traditions of a genuinely Germanic culture in the DDR.

Where the related issue of centralised versus more local or institutional decision making about content is concerned, local diversity is, as might be expected, more common in the BRD. However, the expense of programme-making, particularly in television, together with the increasing difficulties in funding the education sector in recent years, has led to much networking of major series, such as Telekolleg, on the ARD Third Programmes. ZDF series are of course national in any case. Similar funding problems, together with the more centralised system of the DDR has ensured virtually no local diversity in adult education programming in that country. As was pointed out in the previous section, local radio hardly exists in either country. Cable TV is apparently not even being considered in the DDR, and faces many development problems in the BRD. So these prospective sources of more locally-based content are still, despite strong Federal backing, still mainly prospects in those few areas of the BRD where they exist.

4. Ideological Differences and the Utilisation of Adult Education Broadcasting

In this area, differences are fairly clearly marked. The best utilised educational broadcasting materials in the DDR are those produced for schools or INSET, where strong, officially approved links exist between teachers and broadcasters for this purpose. Less formal links between broadcasters and factory schools produced evidence of some effort in utilisation here - as in for example the film loan service which was showing modest but growing use as a necessary alternative to video recording in the absence of widespread availability of video equipment. The stress in utilisation then is distinctly on the educational institution, on the workplace and on national rather than individual need. The only other example of organised utilisation of programmes found was that provided by Urania in their practice of printing radio lectures in Urania and other series. The aims of Urania however are once again very much inline with Party and national need, with their strong emphasis on popular science and technology and on the teaching of Marxist principles and interpretations of world affairs.

In the BRD on the other hand, there are well developed examples of highly integrated open learning services designed to make the most effective use possible for a wide public of broadcasting materials, seen as a means of improving access and individual choice in adult education. Telekolleg in particular has recognised the variety of individual need in making its materials available in different forms to casual learners and to those wishing to update existing skills or knowledge, as well as to more long-term students seeking a first formal qualification.

The issue of centralised versus decentralised systems is even more important in the area of utilisation than elsewhere. Some aspects of

utilisation are often best organised centrally - in particular the production of print and other support materials. These are well produced by Urania, INSET and ZIFF in the DDR and by the broadcasting organisations, DIFF, AGI and through a variety of collaborative schemes involving publishers, in the BRD. However the student support services necessary for efficient learning are essentially local services. Here, the decentralised system of the BRD is better suited in general to the development of such support structures. The Telekolleg study centres and AGI briefing meetings and materials for tutors are examples of such services discussed in Chapter Eight. The smaller size of the DDR however (its total population is in fact smaller than that of Bavaria and little more than half that of North Rhein Westphalia) makes possible highly efficient organisation of these services where intensive effort is put into it, as is the case with schools broadcasting and INSET courses. But the freedom to experiment and adapt to meet local or special minority needs, or to meet conventional needs in new ways, typical of the operation of DIFF, AGI, Telekolleg or Funkkolleg would appear to be vital to fruitful developments in this area.

5. The Relative Significance of Cultural and Ideological Determinants

How do the factors outlined above support or contradict the central thesis of this study? One major difficulty must first be remarked on - that is the relatively tiny output of strictly adult education broadcasting material from the DDR system. There was therefore a limited amount of genuinely comparable output. This is in itself of course a significant finding. In terms of the strategic roles for radio and television suggested by Arnove and Bates and discussed in Chapter Two, the national development strategy for education as a whole in the DDR, clearly places overwhelming emphasis on workplace-based,

face-to-face, mainly vocational education in the adult field, leaving only marginal and largely undefined roles for broadcasting. In Bates' terms, only the roles of politicising the masses, or the more broadly educative areas of general broadcasting are significant in DDR output, while genuine educational use of the media on a regular basis is to be found almost exclusively in the few INSET courses.

The BRD on the other hand, while equally lacking in Arnove's preconditions of clear aims and purposes for a system of educational broadcasting, demonstrated many instances of need, particularly in the non-formal area, which have been met by the initiative of individual broadcasting or educational organisations or by collaborative systems involving both. The greater freedom and decentralised nature of the BRD system has resulted in greater inequalities and unevenness of development, but also in greater responsiveness from adult education broadcasting as a resource to help compensate for such inadequacies. It meets in addition many more individual needs than is possible in the DDR, where the explicit overall aim is communal rather than individual. While of undoubted significance, this fundamental contrast in usage of adult education broadcasting as a resource cannot readily be ascribed to overtly ideological divergence. There remains an overall impression from the comparison of the central importance of available technologies and general economic strength, in this area rather than ideology. While it is true that a relatively poor country such as the Ivory Coast for example, may take a strategic decision to make use of the costly resource of television in achieving national aims, it appears to be more common in the developed world at least, for adult education broadcasting to be to a considerable extent technology-led. It is the existence of home video recorders, of cable or satellite communication systems, even

of the more modest resource of local radio, for other purposes - mainly information and entertainment - which opens up the possibility of their use for educational purposes. More particularly in cases such as those of the two Germanies, where no pronounced national objectives for the development of adult education broadcasting are evident, is the development of the resource dependent on individual or collaborative initiatives with modest budgets, which invariably depend for success on making the most effective use possible, of available communication systems and of what limited production and transmission time they are able to obtain within these systems.

It is in this latter case indeed that the first resemblance which may be ascribed to common 'German-ness' in terms of our thesis may be traced. Both systems show evidence of unusually efficient patterns of collaboration between broadcasters and adult educationists for the most economic use of the resource. While these patterns differ in detail, they all demonstrate an equally high motivation to avoid waste by carefully worked out schemes integrating production policies with effective utilisation by the learner. These appear uniquely German when contrasted with developments elsewhere, so often much more random in this respect.

There was also to be noted in the DDR, in spite of some Russian influence on the content of adult education, a strong sense of continuity with traditional German culture. German literature in particular was even more prominently featured in DDR radio adult education than in BRD output.

Another feature to be noted about content is the common overwhelming

importance of vocational education. All the major providers of multimedia courses - the DDR INSET Group, Telekolleg and Funkkolleg - are wholly concerned with this area. Other collaborative schemes include vocational courses prominently amongst their activities. This, perhaps more than any other feature of the two systems represents a common major theme of German adult education since its origins in the last century.

A third feature to be noted is the general leaning amongst German academics and the public alike, towards traditional methods and hierarchies in education. This has brought about first of all a certain general mistrust of 'informal' methods of teaching such as broadcasting. Even when used, broadcasting is often applied along conventional lines, on both sides of the Border, as the prevalence of the lecture method on radio, or the 'Professorial Forum' approach for less formal objectives on both media demonstrates.

While these three areas of resemblance in collaborative organisation, content and general attitude to educational methods and traditions may not represent an overwhelming case for the contention of this thesis regarding cultural continuity, neither has the comparison shown as overwhelming an influence of ideological determination as might have been expected - and is often assumed on the basis of superficial examination. What has emerged as being of at least equal importance to the other two determinants is what might best be called a technological-economic determinant which seems best regarded as quite distinct from the other two. One may conclude then that there is some limited evidence for the contention of the thesis that cultural influences are enduring in the two Germanies and may be traced in their

systems of adult education broadcasting, but that the relative lack of technological and economic resources in the DDR has placed an overall brake on developments in this area which makes such a comparison inevitably less than fully satisfactory.

It was also the contention of the thesis however that the significance of the study went beyond the peculiar and particular situation of the two Germanies and was relevant to development in other countries. The next Section takes up this aspect of the findings of the study.

C APPLYING THE GERMAN EXPERIENCE

This Section addresses the question of these aspects of German experience in this field likely to be applicable elsewhere, or to have lessons (even of a negative kind) for other countries and other systems.

Perhaps the best example of this is the important subject of collaboration in adult education broadcasting; and the German experience is particularly rich in examples of how this may be achieved relevant to different socio-educational purposes.

Collaboration in Adult Education Broadcasting

The three collaborative systems established in the DDR and the four chief ones (of a permanent nature) in the BRD have already been described in some detail. They are further summarised in comparative form in Fig 9.4 below. All show considerable success in achieving effective collaboration related closely to particular national needs and circumstances in the sector of education they deal with. The following appear to be particularly important features of their structures and systems of operation which enable them to achieve their aims.

INSTITUTION	ORGANISATIONAL BASE	STRUCTURE	FINANCE	EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	CORE ACTIVITIES
DDR	Karl Leibknecht College of Education, Potsdam	Semi-autonomous Institute within College with own Director	Ministry of Culture funded	Mainly School - but important spin-off for Ad Ed	Detailed programme planning; Scheduling Written materials; Staff briefing, evaluation
ZIFF					
INSET (Ludwigsfelde Broadcasting Group)	Independent	Broadcasting Working Group within the Institute	Ministry of Culture funded	INSET	Detailed programme planning and script-writing; Written materials; College based courses on using schools series
URANIA	Independent	Loose federation of local branches	Ministry of Culture sponsored, with some member help	Informal Education of Adults	Advice and Feedback for broad programme planning; Liaison with branches; Publishing radio lectures
BRD	DVV in Marl	Independent Institute	Joint federal, Land and host town funding	Informal and non-formal Education of Adults	Back-up materials; Briefing and training monitoring, research and evaluation
AGI					
TELEKOLLEG	Bayerischer Rundfunk	Firm basis in BR; but collaborative structure involves Land authorities and others	BR and other broadcasters; Land authorities - minor fee contribution	Post-school vocational - Mittlere Reife, Abitur, INSET	Collaborators produce all resource materials, organise tutorials and exams and research and evaluation
FUNKKOLLEG	Hessischer Rundfunk and small Zentralburo	Complex collaborative system of broadcasters, Land authorities publishers, etc	HR and other broadcasters Land and Federal authorities	Tertiary - including university preparatory	Collaborators produce all resource materials, organise tutorials, exams, and evaluation
DIFF	Independent body within University of Tübingen	Independent Institute	Federal Land, and other (mainly VW) sponsors	All levels	Production of written materials for series involved with, some in-service training, course organisation, research and evaluation

Fig 9.4 Models of Collaboration Between Broadcasting and Adult Education in the DDR and BRD

1. The institutional base for a collaborative structure may be in a broadcasting institution (like Telekolleg and Funkkolleg), in an existing educational institution (like ZIFF or DIFF) or in a specially created independent organisation (like AGI). The locus does not appear to be of particular significance, so long as the staff are suited by inclination and experience to work outside their own normal professional framework. In practice the two broadcasting-based bodies seem to have achieved greater success in the creation of more ambitious long-term projects; and the education-based models seem more effective at involving teaching staff and students in the planning process and in the most efficient and appropriate utilisation of broadcast resources generally.
2. All, with the possible exception of AGI, have succeeded in establishing permanent institutional links between the necessary parties involved and the even more important regular meetings between staff members responsible for making the whole system of production and utilisation operate effectively. This continuing collaborative activity is most important if there is to be any possibility of building on past experience and of achieving follow through in long-term programme planning. Building on past experiences may mean a range of very different levels of activity, from the rather informal process in Urania, to the highly organised system of evaluation and feedback, leading to an immediate opportunity for influencing the teaching/learning system, in Telekolleg. Likewise, satisfactory programme planning may be linked to virtually total curriculum control, as in the case of the Ludwigsfelde INSET team; or it may mean rather the establishment of long-term aims and objectives linked to the meeting of more

occasional and miscellaneous educational needs, as in the case of DIFF and AGI. But the importance of permanent or at least semi-permanent links in making such development possible seems clear. Public awareness may also be fostered more readily in these conditions. There is a widespread general awareness of Telekolleg or Urania, for example, which makes easier the full realisation of their potential than in the case of occasional 'one-off' collaborative projects, however excellent they may be in other respects.

3. A related point is that of finance. There is a clear advantage in the independence resulting from varied, at least partly non-political, funding such as that of AGI and DIFF. They are enabled by their NGO status to act in the best interests of consumers or students and from exclusively educational motives, in a way often difficult for broadcasting or purely government-funded educational institutions. But their advantage in this respect must be balanced against their decidedly weaker position in dealing with broadcasting authorities or with official bodies such as Examination Boards. In practice once again, the balance of German experience would seem to emphasise the advantages of a broadcasting-based organisation which, like Telekolleg, has developed effective and permanent structural links with the educational world.
4. As regards the variety of educational levels catered for, the DIFF approach is undoubtedly the most rational in its adoption of a methodological rather than a sector view of its field of operation. In contrast to the other six institutions, DIFF has opted for the specialist role of providing the distance or open learning expertise at any educational level, for other bodies who

are the main course providers. This role may consist simply in the provision of print materials, but has extended on occasion to the creation of audio-tapes or even to the provision of organisational back-up as it did during one period of its relationship with Funkkolleg. Educationists seem to be increasingly disinclined however to separate method from content in the way that was once routinely accepted; and particularly at the stage of adult learning, knowledge of particular groups or clienteles is especially important. This is certainly borne out by the six other bodies, all of whom confine themselves to a particular level, or at least broadly coherent sphere of adult education. There is considerable value in the DIFF model for training and research purposes (though its potential in this respect has not in fact been sufficiently utilised in the BRD up to the present time) but there are problems of credibility for a 'methods-and-techniques' specialism divorced from actual practice and application. Perhaps the best solution to this problem is the development of the sort of role in training which the Open University in Britain has practised intermittently. An established institution with a proven record in production is in the best possible position - given appropriate resources - to offer training to others less totally committed to the use of broadcasting as a resource, whether in a multimedia context or otherwise. In the West German situation however, DIFF certainly has a great deal of useful experience backed up by a valuable body of research which could profitably be utilised in the training of broadcasters and educationists alike.

5. The core activities of these bodies are varied, covering at various levels of involvement much of the production process, scheduling, utilisation (including the production of print and other materials,

staff briefing and training and student contacts), feedback, evaluation and research. While all share in these activities to a greater or lesser extent, AGI is unique in the much broader view it takes of its role. It is a decidedly activist organisation campaigning on issues such as copyright clearance for educational purposes. It acts as a rallying point for new curricular areas particularly suited to the multimedia approach such as media studies, development education or health education. Its quarterly magazine 'Weiterbildung und Medien' is probably the best of its kind if not indeed unique in the variety of training, information and publicity roles it fulfils, as well as regular sections of useful follow-up materials for current TV series. A periodical of this kind would seem to be a necessity for any country wishing to take seriously the potential of broadcasting and related resources for adult education.

Lessons from Other Aspects of Organisational Experience and Innovation in the Two Germanies

1. Learning Networks

While the important new educational strategies involving the development of networks for less formal adult learning are not in general any more advanced or better recognised in the two Germanies than elsewhere in Europe, there are at least two interesting examples of effort in that area worthy of note;

- a In the DDR, Urania's nationwide network of branches with their varied local educational activities is clearly a system of great potential for linking up with broadcast resources. As described in Chapter Five, broadcasting staff liaise with branches at the programme planning stage, both for the "Urania

im Funk" radio lectures and the more popular "neue Fernseh Urania" TV series. After production and transmission, responsibility for utilisation rests largely with Urania, which publishes the radio lectures and organises any follow-up activities. Films of the TV programmes are available on loan and take-up of this facility is growing steadily.

- b It is doubtful to what extent we can call the Volkshochschulen system in either country a network, owing to their strong local and institutional roots and considerable variety of approach not infrequently involving some conservatism, as regards methods and techniques - and often some disillusionment with broadcasting. AGI has however achieved considerable success in using broadcasts to stimulate local group activities - mainly through the use of its bi-monthly periodical 'W and M' with its regular suggestions for follow-up activities, both individual and group. These may relate to particular forthcoming series, or to a broad area of programming, such as one issue which dealt with health education.⁴ In the latter case, an extensive review of health education films and other materials was included, as well as information about a number of forthcoming programmes and series on the subject. An independent body like AGI is in an ideal position to mediate between broadcasting and education - representing the views of consumers on the one hand, stimulating and supporting activities based on worthwhile programmes on the other. This activity is only one strand in AGI's wide-ranging programme, but for it alone it is well worth examination by others wishing to develop informal learning networks associated with broadcasting.

2. Broadcasting - Education Liaison

A centralised state such as the DDR has obviously great advantages in encouraging profitable liaison between bodies with related interests; and comment has already been made on the structural aspects of this. But it should be noted here that the particular ZIFF practice of employing a professional educationist to work solely on improving school broadcasting links, including the working of detailed transmission schedules, seems a highly profitable one, particularly for developing countries concerned to make optimum use of slender resources, or tied for technological reasons (such as the use of dbs in a development project) to the use of off-air rather than recorded material.

3. Information and Publicity

ZDF and many of the ARD organisations are in many ways models of enterprise and efficiency in presenting, not just strictly educational series, but the entire educative and more broadly cultural side of their programming. The HR Third Programme leaflet shown in Appendix 4 for example, includes popular anthropology, travel and wildlife programmes as well as educational series proper. NDR's 'Kultur und Wissenschaft' quarterly booklet comprises an even broader spectrum of programming, often including TVI programmes and such series as the Books Programme "Bucherjournal", or the programme about the making of the film "Ghandi". ZDF operates a more rational approach publishing a series of separate detailed guides to forthcoming output in Music, Drama, Science and Technology and Adult Education. The significant point however is that all appear well in advance of transmission times, offering sufficient information for adult education

institutions, voluntary groups and others wishing to build suitable broadcasts into their own programmes. ZDF and NDR methods in particular would seem worth studying by others wishing to improve their own publicity methods.

4. Staff Briefing and Training

There are two kinds of briefing and training related to the use of broadcasting in education:

- i that concerned with general principles, eg with the functions of broadcasting in education; or with practical training in the use of equipment. This may be carried out on a pre-service or an in-service basis.
- ii that related closely to the utilisation of particular series eg "Follow Me"; this would usually be carried out on an in-service basis.

Neither the DDR nor BRD teaching or adult education professions appear to have made any greater progress in the first of these areas than the rest of Europe. However both AGI in the BRD and the Institut für Weiterbildung in the DDR have been active in model ways in the second kind of briefing and training - a type vital to the effective utilisation of broadcasting in education and rarely practised elsewhere.

DDR INSET activity based in Ludwigsfelde includes regular short courses for the university tutors who carry out the local in-service tuition linked to the specially produced radio and TV programmes. This seems an obvious and simple facility to build into any collaborative use of broadcasting for this purpose, yet appears to be rather unusual, in Europe at least.

AGI have a more broadly-based, ambitious approach to training, but lack the official status which makes possible its universal application in the INSET area in the DDR. AGI attempts to fill in gaps generally in training as in other aspects of media utilisation. It does this first of all through running occasional courses for VHS or other staff related to forthcoming series; and secondly and even more significantly, through regular articles and pull-out sections in 'W & M'. In recent years they have covered in some depth such topics as:

The Information Explosion and Confidentiality
 Children's Film, TV and Video
 The Growth of the Video Business and Video Games
 Making Your Own Video Films
 Language Teaching on Radio and Television
 Education and the 'New Media'

AGI is currently involved in an ambitious European exchange project designed to pool audio-visual training materials in this field.

5. Encouraging Response from the General Listener

More formal adult education series usually receive some indication of student response - if only through material sales. Less formal educational broadcasting on the other hand goes out much more into the void, apart from standard listening and viewing figures. Various forms of phone-in response have been tried in both Germanies in an attempt to involve listeners and viewers. Rather surprisingly for English-speaking countries, where the radio phone-in is now a standard technique, the prevailing examples of this in the DDR and BRD involve TV programmes.

In the DDR, the monthly series 'neue Fernseh Urania' takes the form of a documentary presentation of the theme of the month (as detailed in Chapter Five) followed by a 30-60 minute gap during which unrelated programmes are transmitted. Individuals and local Urania groups phone in questions at this time which are then dealt with in a further programme that evening by a panel of experts. This 'Metroplex' format, particularly when related to local group discussions within a network like Urania, has still much to recommend it, particularly with the advent of cable TV and the wider availability of educational and community access channels.

A different type of audience response is being encouraged in ARD companies which are now increasingly undertaking counselling as an important part of their responsibility to the public, to add to their basic undertakings to inform, educate and entertain. This has been for example an explicit part of NDR's constitution since 1980; and 1984 schedules show a consumer and travel advice series on Sunday afternoons on TVI and counselling on more personal problems on "Rufen Sie Uns An" (Give us a Ring) on Friday evenings on TVIII.

Lessons from Research and Evaluation Programmes

There appears to be no concerted research programmes in this area in the DDR; and very few individual research studies. That of Born and Born mentioned in Chapter Six has little general relevance to our present purpose, though one point mentioned in passing would certainly be of considerable interest to the rest of the world if it were possible to follow it up. The frequent use made in universities of recordings from the general output of DDR TV, free of copyright restrictions, would

certainly be a matter of great interest to those institutions in the Western world more handicapped in this way. Furthermore as neither country can offer any research results of consequence in the important area of the complementary roles of radio and TV as educational media (mainly because of the dearth of projects using both media in combination), what follows consists mainly of conclusions based on studies of Funkkolleg and Telekolleg on the separate roles and effectiveness of radio and TV respectively.

Radio in the Funkkolleg System

The most important lesson from the changing role of radio in Funkkolleg is that of the distinction to be made between radio as a leading medium and radio as a central content-bearing component of a multimedia delivery system. It was undoubtedly seen as both when Funkkolleg was first launched in 1966. As experience of its use showed however on the one hand, the difficulty of getting academics to depart from familiar lecture methods; and on the other, the verdict of a majority of students that they found radio of little relevance to their studies, it became clear that its real importance lay in the former role rather than the latter. It is not being argued here of course that this was a correct or generally applicable conclusion to be drawn from rather sparse evidence about what can in fact be achieved through the effective use of radio in a multimedia system. But its particular role in Funkkolleg is a useful reminder of a distinction often forgotten when radio is being dismissed after initial disappointment with its more obvious educational uses, whether for enrichment purposes or direct teaching.

The idea of radio as a 'leading' medium includes in fact a cluster of distinct though related functions suggested by the studies of Fritsch⁵

and Rebel⁶ discussed in Chapter Six:

1. Arousing initial interest in educationists and potential students likely to be involved;
2. Providing the prestige and leadership of a high-profile media organisation which helps ease the problems of initiating a complex collaborative project;
3. Providing induction and encouraging motivation for students in the early stages of course work;
4. Providing pacing for students in later stages of course work;
5. Attracting 'Za#ngäste' (eavesdroppers) who may later become students, or else derive direct benefits in the form of professional updating, following up interests etc;
6. Finally, we have Fritsch's important notion of 'Kommunikationssicherheit' - the simple increase in confidence and motivation for particular groups, such as teachers, resulting from the knowledge that others are participating in the course at the same time.

It is of course true that these functions could equally be carried out by TV. The significance of the Funkkolleg experience however lies precisely in the fact that the more cost-effective medium of radio can perform them as well - or nearly so. Similar experience (discussed at length in Chapter Two) in a variety of settings elsewhere, from Costa Rica to Tanzania in national development projects and from Canada to the UK in projects aimed at particular social groups has confirmed the value of radio in this role.

Television in the Telekolleg System

One of the most useful lessons to be learned from the considerable body of research results in this area is one which Telekolleg itself appears

never to have applied completely to its own development. The varying and very specific nature of learning possible through TV as compared with other media has been pointed out frequently in TK research. As in Funkkolleg, students were often shown to be doubtful of the value of that part of their course work, 15% indeed thinking it totally unnecessary in one survey and only about half placing it above face-to-face and written sources in the key position continually stressed for TV by TK introductory materials and policy statements through the years. The most recent introduction for new students does indeed point out that learning from TV requires a different approach from that used for more conventional media and methods.⁷ It has to that extent learned from its experience that TV is not as 'transparent' a medium as it may at first sight appear, and that students need help in acquiring study skills in this area as much as in reading a difficult text, or assessing the value of an experiment. In TK I at least, the next logical step does not seem to have been considered - that of varying the centrality of TV as a carrier of core course material according to its suitability for different subjects. Yet TK's research offers some pointers at least towards ways of achieving this more refined use of the medium.

Schorb,⁸ while claiming that we lack the criteria necessary for this nevertheless went a long way towards establishing some useful first principles in stressing the need for clarity of aim and commitment to course objectives in producing TV programmes. He stressed likewise the importance of evaluating the programmes not as a TV viewer, but as a course participant; and it is in supplying criteria for this evaluation of TV programmes in the context of the course and their relationship to it, that TV research has been particularly helpful:

1. It has stressed the importance of both vertical and horizontal integration of programmes in the whole course - ie in the weekly unit of work in different media; and in follow-up, recapitulation, revision etc, in succeeding programmes.
2. Bedall⁹ has demonstrated the need for careful grading of content in TV programmes - important in all learning materials, but particularly so in TV, where a few misunderstood words or concepts early in a programme can result in a falling-off in attention and understanding of the remainder of the material.
3. TK research has also shown the importance of getting the appropriate balance of methods and techniques for the topic, particularly as between televisual material such as film, diagrams etc, and a straightforward 'talking head' approach. While students on the whole, found most helpful programmes using mainly visual materials more appropriate to TV, the value of the right kind of straightforward presentation, by the right person, using suitable methods, was often considerable; and much detailed guidance on the sort of personal qualities and methods found most helpful by TK students has come from the various studies discussed in Chapter Six. The most important of these would seem to be:
 - a a direct manner of addressing students by speech mode, eye contact, use of greetings etc;
 - b frequent use of recapitulation;
 - c frequent use of activity and attention stimulating devices, such as rhetorical or 'non' questions, or questions with an answer soon supplied by the presenter;
 - d in general, an awareness of TV viewing as in some respect a social situation for the viewer and therefore of the importance of small group dynamics and the value of TV in encouraging a

social relationship as well as simply facilitating pedagogic continuity.¹⁰

The TK II Feedback System

Possibly the most valuable and readily transferable part of the TK experience in research and evaluation is the system established with the launch of TK II (the Abitur courses section) in 1972 to produce speedy and readily assimilable feedback on the impact of course materials. The questionnaires from the structured sample of students are analysed in the University of Munich and results are available three days after transmission. These are discussed by the course team, augmented by 'Kollegtag' tutors and appropriate follow-up decided on. A three - five minute slot in the next programme is used by presenters to clarify problem areas uncovered by the responses and where necessary to recapitulate important formulae, key sentences etc from the previous programme material. A similar approach, using radio instead of TV has been employed with success in the Open University courses - and indeed the method is in practice more likely to find universal application on radio than TV, owing to the less flexible production and transmission processes of the latter medium.

In general it seems arguable that the above features of adult education broadcasting in the two Germanies were the more clearly revealed because of the approach of the thesis in relating the two systems to overall cultural and ideological determinants. Only an awareness of these national roots make feasible the application elsewhere of certain aspects of systems which can never, as pointed out at the beginning of this thesis, be transplanted entire to other cultural environments. It appears even more certain that only the employment of the comparative

method made the proper delineation of these features possible. This applies particularly to the discussion of perhaps the most important topic of patterns of collaboration and related subjects such as training and the development of learning networks. It is therefore appropriate to proceed now to discuss the comparative method itself as the central method used for this study.

D THE OVERALL VALUE OF THE COMPARATIVE METHOD

As pointed out at the beginning of Chapter Two, the chief argument for the adoption of the comparative approach, with all its shortcomings and especially data-gathering problems, is that there are few obvious alternatives when dealing with the important policy making and organisational issues that constitute the principal focus of this thesis - quite clearly, in particular, not the experimental approach which is the usual basis of research in this area. It seemed proper then, that the final aim of the study should be an assessment of the comparative method itself in research of this kind. Of the other three aims, B addresses a very specifically comparative question about the effects of ideological divergence on the two adult education and broadcasting systems after the Second World War, which could clearly not have been attempted by any other approach. A and C, as more general enquiries into the state of adult education broadcasting, could as clearly have been rephrased to apply to only one country, as is indeed more usual in investigations of this nature. Most of the earlier studies discussed in Chapter Two, even where they deal with several countries, are in fact multi-country studies from which some general conclusions are drawn, rather than rigorous point-by-point comparisons across the entire 'system' or process from policy making to utilisation and evaluation of the finished product.

One way of approaching such an assessment then, might be to ask the question - what results of this study would not have emerged, or would have been less sharply defined, in a single subject study? Furthermore, given the acknowledged difficulties of gathering comparable data and the frequent necessity to rely on secondary sources, would not more illumination of the area have emerged from a single country studied in greater depth - for example with more time given to the study of student learning, or of staff and student opinion? Studies of this kind, using a survey technique like those of the British adult literacy project, or more experimental methods, such as those by Telekolleg staff discussed in Section C are of course of immense value. They neglect however the important larger questions raised on the basis of the broad surveys of Bates, Schramm, Arnove and others discussed in Chapter Two. The general conclusion indicated by this study would seem to be that there is a useful role for a methodology complementary to the above micro and macro approaches, which adopts a focus somewhere between the two and makes possible the linking of overall aims, with their effects, in terms of the educational resources which are ultimately on offer to would-be learners in the adult population.

The use of comparison in this methodical way, made possible an assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of individual components of the overall 'system' of adult education broadcasting in each country which was more sharply focused than would have otherwise been possible. The links between policy and practice at all levels from the establishment of institutions and structures, through production and curricular decision-making processes, to different ways of organising utilisation and student support services were highlighted by the contrast the approach made possible, between:

1. on the one hand, different approaches to achieving similar general aims (as in the field of vocational education for example); and
2. on the other, the quite different aims and approaches possible in the use of this educational resource, according to different national philosophies or ideologies regarding the roles of education and broadcasting in society.

More particularly, these specific findings of the study would not have been evident without the comparative approach:

1. The different effects of the common lack of any clear and specific national aims for adult education broadcasting, in a country with a strongly centralised government and in one with much more decentralised and dispersed decision making.
2. The different effects of an educational ideology stressing individual choice and one stressing national need and the development of a particular mentality - in this case of socialist man.
3. The different effects of having a rich variety of broadcasting technology available (usually for purposes other than education in the first instance) and of a relatively more modest range of such technology.
4. Above all, the key importance of collaborative processes in this area emerged as a factor of surprisingly equal importance both in a Western Democracy where one might expect such collaboration to be a normal approach to system-building and in a Communist state where a more top-down and disciplined approach to system-building might be looked for. Collaboration proved rather to be equally the key to success in all the examples found of successful use of the broadcast media in adult education. Apart from the general fact of

its salience, the possibility of comparing in detail, seven different approaches to collaboration and of assessing the strengths and weaknesses of each seemed to constitute one of the most practically useful findings of the study as well as suggesting a fertile area for further research.

The further use of this method would then seem to be safely indicated for further studies of this kind, offering a useful complementary role to broad surveys, relying mainly on secondary sources on the one hand, and to more detailed studies on the other, where the need for much reliable primary data would make the comparative approach difficult or impossible. Lack of fully and convincingly comparable detail on such matters as student populations or budgets need not seriously reduce the validity of comparing systems and their relation to national or institutional goals, or of presenting an overview of their accomplishments in terms of what is actually on offer to potential adult learners. There would appear to be scope therefore for further studies along similar lines to this one. It would be valuable, for example to see a comparison of the varied approaches to the use of adult education in broadcasting in the Scandinavian countries. The basis of the comparison could alternatively be to examine different ways of tackling common development problems- eg in Tanzania and Malawi.

The value of the comparative as opposed to a single country or multi-system approach would remain that of highlighting different strategies and their relationships to national goals on the one hand; and of evaluating different ways of achieving similar ends, on the other. These are particularly important themes for what Robinson has called the "Everything-is-Possible Eighties"¹¹ when technological

possibilities such as dbs, cable, or cheaper and more efficient recording are proliferating so quickly, that it is often difficult for educationists and broadcasters alike to evolve appropriate policies for their use, before a political or commercial fait-accompli pre-empts more educationally desirable development. The search for such policies is likely to be aided considerably by more detailed knowledge of the links between policy and practice in other periods and other social systems. New technologies are liable to be at least as disappointing as the old ones have often seemed to many adult educationists, unless those using them are able to learn from experience such as that of the two Germanies, the fundamental importance of effective links between policy and system-building on the one hand, and production, utilisation and evaluation on the other - links almost certain to be collaborative in nature. These collaborative networks are likely to be as important, and possible not greatly dissimilar in nature, with the new technologies, as with the old.

There are in general then, overwhelming arguments for the use of the comparative method in an area such as adult education despite the many difficulties involved in its use. When such an organic growth as a national system of adult education (or any broad aspect of it, like broadcasting) is under consideration the value of stepping back from the particular and relating it to broader features such as policies or structures or the ideologies behind them is obvious. The use of comparison imposes that process by its very nature and the method must therefore have a permanent place in the armoury of students of this and many other socio-educational topics.

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

The general conclusions of this study may be summarised as follows:

1. The Argument of the Thesis

There is some evidence in support of the contention of the thesis that common cultural influences are enduring in the two Germanies and may be traced in their adult education broadcasting systems as elsewhere in the two societies, despite the ideological divergence of the two countries since World War Two. In the common emphasis on vocational education, in the patterns of collaboration which have evolved and in common emphases on conventional academic hierarchies and methods there may be traced considerable continuity with earlier German cultural and specifically educational traditions. The general paucity of DDR adult education broadcasting output made the comparisons less than completely satisfactory, but there emerged from the analysis in this respect a third factor - the overall level of development of the economy in general and broadcasting technology in particular - which it seemed useful to distinguish from purely ideological influences on the one hand or common cultural ones on the other.

2. Lessons for Other Systems

There were many points of detail in the experience of the Germanies regarding the production and utilisation of adult education broadcasting which should be of value elsewhere. Their experience seemed particularly rich however in examples of collaborative structures and practices and the seven major examples of this were analysed in some detail. The broad remit of the Adolf Grimme Institut in particular across the field of support materials production, information and publicity, in-service education for teaching staff and its general leadership qualities in this area

made it a particularly useful model for study by other countries.

3. The Comparative Method and the Study of Adult Education Broadcasting

The value of the Comparative Method, in spite of undoubted problems regarding comparable data from the two subjects seemed well proven by the findings of this study. It made possible the illumination of the three important determinants of adult education and broadcasting policies and practice - ideologies, culture and the technological-economic base in a way difficult if not impossible in a single-subject study. In particular it revealed:

- a the different effects which the common lack of clear national aims about the use of this resource can have in a strongly centralised and in a decentralised country, with dispersed systems of decision making; and
- b the general importance of and different approaches to, collaboration in adult education broadcasting developments.

The method seems indicated as a valuable one then for further studies of this kind and as a complementary approach to other types of research and evaluation which cannot be expected to illuminate to the same extent broader issues such as the wider influences of ideology or the workings of policy making or organisational structures.

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APPENDIX 1

Questionnaire for the Council of Europe Survey on Adult Education and Television, 1967.

Text of the Questionnaire

- "1. In your country and in your case, what is the legal and administrative status of the television organisation (private enterprise, State monopoly, government operated)?
2. What is the relationship between your television organisation and the Ministry of Education (from the administrative, financial, didactical point of view)?
3. Do you broadcast television programmes for adult education, either as programmes for general cultural purposes or as specific adult education programmes with a particular didactical structure and aim?
4. If so, when did these broadcasts start?
5. Please list such programmes according to type and title and enclose, on a separate sheet, a brief summary of their aims and contents, specifying whether they are broadcast occasionally, regularly or serially.
6. When establishing the annual timetable or this kind of television programme, do you carry out any kind of preliminary enquiry concerning the various levels of viewers to whom the broadcasts are directed?
7. Following from this, do you take into account the different cultural levels of the viewers and accordingly their different degrees of understanding of the contents and aims of the various programmes?
8. In the organising of such programmes, do you arrange prior consultation or collaboration with those agencies concerned with the adult education problem?
9. In the event of such contacts not being maintained, please state if any official opinions or reactions on your programmes in this field have been expressed by certain organisations or by Government authorities.
10. Is the editing of these programmes entrusted to officials of the television organisation, both for planning as well as production? Or do you call in outside collaborators for the former? Or are these programmes, on the other hand, the result of a sort of co-operation between television officials and outside

collaborators? In this case, what are the limits of such co-operation?

11. As far as the realisation of these programmes is concerned, would you kindly provide some technical details on the production (such as time for preparatory meetings, studio rehearsal time, visual aids used etc).
12. Is the eventual selection of outside collaborators carried out on the basis of not only that person's particular specific preparation for the work of adult education?
13. Are special arrangements made to organise the viewing of programmes by the public to whom they are addressed?
14. Can you provide precise and detailed information concerning both the viewers' appreciation of the said broadcasts, and their possible reactions to them?
15. Besides what has been done in the past or is being done at present in this field by your television organisation, can you give information concerning possible future plans?
16. Would you kindly state briefly your views on the possibilities of the television medium in adult education?"

APPENDIX 2

Adult Education and Broadcasting Personnel Interviewed in the Course of the Study

A UNESCO

Dr G Carelli, Director, UNESCO Institute for Education, Hamburg

Henri Dieuzeide, Director, Division of Methods, Materials and Techniques, Paris

Dr A Hancock, Deputy Director, Division of Mass Communications, Paris

B The BRD

1. Broadcasting Staff

Dr Lutz-Eugen Reutter, Head of NDR, Information Services, Professor

Doctor G Kadelback, Head of Educational Radio, HR and Professor of Mass Communications, University of Frankfurt

Dr H Bressler, Head of Educational TV, HR

Dr W Seidl, Head of Educational TV, BR

Dr Ingo Hermann, Head of Educational Broadcasting, ZDF

2. Adult Education Staff

Herr W Muller, Academic Co-ordinator, Katholische Akademie, Munich

Dr F Baake, Director, Lübeck Volkshochschule

Dr O Peters, Rektor, Fernuniversität, Hagen (and many other staff full-time and part-time, in the course of a briefing weekend in which I participated)

Herr W Schmidt, Director, AGI, Marl

C The DDR

1. Broadcasting Staff

Herr B Dammasch, Head of Educational TV

Herr Winter, Head of DDR Radio 2 (including educational broadcasting)

2. Educational Staff

Frau Grünert, Senior Assistant, Ministry of Education

Dr Köhler, Senior Assistant, Ministry of Education

Professor Dr Gentner, Director of ZIFF

Professor Weitendorf, Head of Content and Utilisation Section, ZIFF

Dr M Könnicke, Head of Research Section, ZIFF

Herr Röpke, Schools Liaison, Scheduling Officer, ZIFF

Dr Haak, Head of TV Section, Institute of In-service Education,
Ludwigsfelde

Herr S Sommer, Director Volkshochschule, Potsdam

Herr Markwatt, Senior Assistant, State Secretariat for Vocational
Education

APPENDIX 3

Report of a Visit to the German Democratic Republic Arranged by the
British Council in Conjunction with the GDR Ministry of Education,
23rd-30th June, 1978

As the focus of my interest was on the educational uses of broadcasting the Ministry made arrangements for me to be the guest of the Zentralinstitut fur Schulfunk und Schulfernsehen, Potsdam for the duration of my stay. Dr Köhler of the Ministry Department of International Relations, and Dr Könnike of the Institut received me most hospitably on my arrival in Friederichstrasse through 'Checkpoint Charlie' and took me to the Pädagogische Hochschule guest-house in Gregor Mendel Strasse, Potsdam - formerly the residence, incidentally, of the General Stulpnagel who was executed because of his participation in the 20th July Plot against Hitler. Next morning I met the staff of the Institut and discussed their work and also the programme they had tentatively arranged for me. Some additions were made to it at my request, to fill out the adult education side, and my programme eventually looked like this:

Remainder of Saturday 24th - Cultural visits in Berlin

Sunday 25th	Time for reading and general orientation; some sightseeing in Potsdam
Monday 26th	Morning - visit to In-service Teacher Training Institution, Ludwigsfelde; Afternoon - work in the Potsdam Public Library on educational and broadcasting periodicals
Tuesday 27th	Morning - visit to GDR Radio; Afternoon - Folk High School, Potsdam
Wednesday 28th	Morning - Interviews in Ministry Secretariat for vocational education; Afternoon - GDR Television
Thursday 29th	Final talks with Institut and Ministry

staff, followed by farewell lunch given by
Ministry in Berlin

Friday 30th

Departure from Tegel Airport

The Institute for School Radio and Television is to my knowledge, unique of its kind in schools broadcasting, resembling most nearly, in its relationship with the State Radio and Television organisations, the Open University in its relationship with the BBC. The staff of the Institute, under its benign Director, Professor Dr Gentner, are responsible for preparing the content of those schools radio and television programmes which are closely tied to school curricula; for directing the utilisation of these programmes in schools; and for the evaluation of their effectiveness, together with related pedagogic issues. The first two functions are carried out under the supervision of Bereichsleiter 1, Professor Weitendorf, and the third under Bereichsleiter 2 Dr Könnicke. Dr Könnicke was my guide, mentor and chief host throughout my stay. It was on him, together with Professor Gentner and Frau Grünert, the Institute's main contact in the Ministry, that the chief burden of organising my visit lay, and it is to them, together with the many colleagues they introduced me to, that my gratitude for the success of my visit is due.

In the highly integrated polytechnical school system of the GDR, high utilisation of a small and carefully selected range of programmes is possible, with the emphasis falling mainly on the upper classes 8-10 which receive weekly television programmes in German Literature, History, Citizenship, Chemistry, Physics and Biology and radio programmes in Literature and Chemistry for the classes not receiving a television series in their year. An amazing amount of consultation and

organisation goes on each year under the guidance of the energetic Herr Röpke to determine the best and most convenient times for each transmission, and viewing is done (in the absence of general access to VCR machines) almost entirely live. Radio programmes however are commonly recorded and used at the convenience of the teacher.

The Institute has 22 professional and six administrative and secretarial staff, and forms a semi-independent enclave within the Pädagogische Hochschule 'Karl Liebknecht', Potsdam.

My weekend was taken up largely with cultural visits in Berlin and Potsdam, but the educative uses made of museums and ancient monuments was most impressive. The Pergamon Museum in Berlin for example gives some excellent impressions of the total urban environment of various ancient cities; and the St Cecilienhof Palace in Potsdam is designed to tell the story of the Potsdam Agreement between the Great Powers which was made there in 1945.

On Monday I had a most informative morning with Dr Haak, Head of the Television Working Group at the - again unique, in our terms - Institute for In-service Teacher Education in Ludwigsfelde. I learned there of the complex and intensive system of in-service education, which includes an obligatory course for every teacher every five years; plus private study backed by monthly radio and television programmes; plus regular meetings of subject teachers held in every school. A District Director of In-service Education organises all local aspects of continuing professional education, while the occasional courses, the radio and television programmes, and the training of the university tutors who

carry out the local teacher education is based mainly in Ludwigsfelde.

Monday afternoon was spent most usefully in the excellent new public library in Potsdam. It had readily accessible sets of all educational journals, and also back numbers of "FF Dabei" the GDR equivalent of "Radio Times". There was also a coffee and television room for weary scholars which was most welcome!

Tuesday morning was spent with Herr Winter, Head of DDR2 - the education and classical music radio channel. In addition to the two or three radio series he operates at any one time in co-operation with ZIFF, he produces also a further three radio series for schools designed for enrichment and also a rich variety of educational and educative programmes for adults. The latter are usually 15 minute programmes meeting a variety of quite specific needs - trade union, political education, local councillors etc. Many of the most popular are transmitted at a special lunchtime hour when recordings are made in the many factories which have recording and film studios run mainly by enthusiastic amateurs. Programmes made in conjunction with Urania the WEA-like adult education organisation are printed and distributed free of charge to all listeners on request. Some examples which I was given include "The Origins of Human Intelligence", "What is the Special Responsibility of the Scientist?" and "The Science of Palaeontology". The impression received here was of great and ingenious efforts being made to make the most of very restricted airtime for educational purposes. The other DDR radio channels are largely for information and entertainment, though with differing audiences - local, external, youth etc.

The late afternoon visit to Herr Sommer, Director of the Potsdam (Rural) Folk High School was intended to last for an hour at most, but in fact went on (with considerable refreshments!) for 4 1/2 hours - which is to say that Herr Sommer was typical in his infectious enthusiasm for his job of all adult educationists everywhere. Here, and also in the interview early next morning with Herr Markwatt in the Ministry in Berlin, I was given an excellent overview of the comprehensive adult education service of the GDR. While the emphasis is undoubtedly on vocational and professional education largely based in and catering to the needs of the factories and co-operative farms, there are also many opportunities for general university entrance qualifications after leaving craft-school. I shall be writing later in greater detail about the adult education system of the GDR, but those brief comments are probably sufficient for this report.

My final substantial visit, taking up the rest of Wednesday was to GDR Television, where the energetic young Head of Educational Television, Herr Damasch spoke knowledgeably of the broad social and historical background to the development of educational broadcasting, before going on to discuss current output, and to show me some examples of the new season's schools programmes. These were of high quality and included some in colour - most impressively perhaps, one about Rumania for Class 6 Geography, with beautifully shot scenes of environmental preservation work on the Danube. As with educational radio, series for schools are divided about equally between those produced in co-operation with ZIFF and 'enrichment' programmes originating solely from Herr Damasch's educational producers.

Because of my previous study of the GDR (from outside) it came as no surprise to me to discover that there was there little of the wealth of opportunity in adult education broadcasting that exists in the FRG and Britain. The reasons for this lack only became clear however in the course of my visit.

1. Immediately after the war, the GDR had to use radio, and later television as a substitute for many educational materials and services - books, teachers etc - lacking in the different post-war situation. As these more basic educational facilities became available, there was for a time a falling-off in interest in the 'stop-gap' media.
2. The very thoroughness with which the polytechnical theme has been elaborated in the GDR (more so than in the USSR where it originated) has led to a step-by-step approach in educational development, with the emphasis being fixed strongly on national needs for skilled manpower. Now that apparently effective system is beginning to meet these needs, there is a return of interest in broadcasting; but in keeping with the highly integrated and no-frills approach used in the rest of the school system. The chief demand from the Institute is for programmes tightly geared to the needs of the classroom and used in all (or at least most - there is no compulsion) classrooms. There is interestingly, the same tension between pedagogues and broadcasters - 'journalists' as the latter tend to be called by the pedagogues - as is found in the Open University. And the broadcasters are given their head in producing 'professional' programmes, as I indicated, in the separate 'enrichment' series.
3. Adult education beyond vocational education is by no means the

Cinderella subject that it is (apart from the Open University) in Britain. The Folk High Schools, for example, are adequately funded and not hindered by the demands for minimum enrolment numbers, ever-growing fees etc, which discourage development here. But there are only two TV channels, and they demonstrate strongly the need to compete for the general audience with the three channels available from across the Wall. But educationists generally seem fascinated by the Open University and other developments here, and I feel sure will be keen to learn more as opportunity allows.

My visit ended with a most pleasant farewell lunch in 'Die Mowe' an Artists' Club in Berlin, where Frau Grünert, representing the Ministry and Professor Gentner and Dr Könnicke from ZIFF all expressed great willingness to provide for me any further information, literature etc which I might need in future and showed also great interest in the possibility of their benefiting from Open University, CET and SCET experience in their own developing educational system. This interest in UK experience in educational broadcasting, and in adult education was common to all my contacts during my visit, and I came away with a long list of requests for papers and materials which I had mentioned during my talks, correspondence over which will, I am sure, maintain in future many of the friendships begun during this most useful and enjoyable visit.

The GDR system of education is quite different to our own, has much to teach us on the craft and professional side, and perhaps something to learn from us in the broader aspects of continuing and distance

education which are beginning to interest them increasingly, now that their basic polytechnical school system is so successfully established.

Dan Anderson

APPENDIX 4

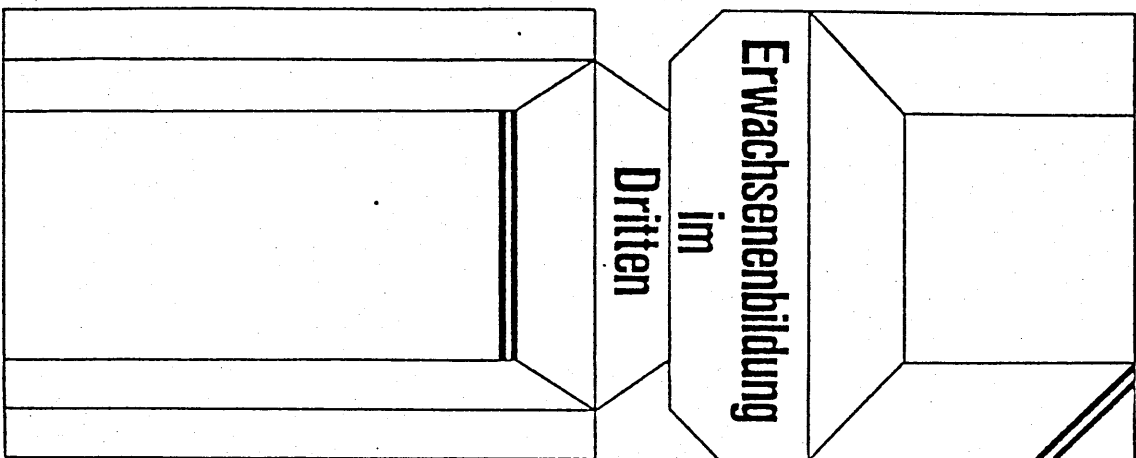
Examples of ARD and ZDF Adult Education Programming on Television,
Illustrating the More Strictly Defined ZDF Approach

A ZDF Programme Times for July-December 1981

Programmschema der Bildungs - und Erziehungssendungen im ZDF

Montag	Dienstag	Mittwoch	Donnerstag	Freitag	Samstag	Sonntag
				0915 Uhr Vorschul- Programm (Dritt- sendung)		1340 Uhr Bildungs- programme
						1410 Uhr Vorschul- programm (Erst- sendung)
1630 Uhr Studien- programm (Zweit- sendung)		1630 Uhr Vorschul- programm (Zweit- sendung)	1630 Uhr Studien- programm (Erst- sendung)	1600 bzw 1615 Uhr Bildungs- programme (W)		
2015 Uhr Erziehungs- magazin "Kinder Kinder" (sechsmal jährlich)						
2015 Uhr Bildungs- magazin "Impulse" (dreimal jährlich)						

B HR Programmes for the Second Quarter, 1982



Wichtige Informationen:
Hessischer Rundfunk, HR 3, Programm 3, Sendung, Fernsehprogramm,
Freitag, 21.10.1982, Frankfurt am Main, 1. Sendung, (06.11.11) 55.76.98.78.85

The NOW Club
5.4-21.6
Zwei (nicht ausschließlich englischsprachige)
Länder

19.00-19.15 Uhr

5.4. Griech.
19.4. Hundetraining
26.4. Indis
3.5. Redundancy
(Anpassungsprobleme)
10.5. Tinet
17.5. Gais
24.5. Fest St. Michael
7.6. Leberwurst
14.6. Dais
21.6. Leberwurst & M.P.
(Montag)

Von Spielen,
Spielzeug und
Spielverderben
5.4-21.6

19.15-19.30 Uhr

5.4. Autos
19.4. Aufsteckspiel
26.4. Erste Bären
3.5. Bären und Meinen
10.5. Ternesche Bären
17.5. Geschichtliche Spielzeug
24.5. Spielen mit Bären im freien
7.6. Handgepäck
14.6. Eternit
21.6. Sechser beim Spielen
Beispiel:
Gutes Spielzeug von A. - J.
- Beispiel für Auswahl und
Gebrauch -
Verlag SNA, GfH
Athenäum, Schulbuchverlag
+ Spielzeug e.V., 7800 Ulm,
Hempe 13

Ehemalig
5.4-21.6
Berichte und Gespräche über
Schicksale von heute

19.30-20.00 Uhr

5.4. Vom Tretlauf zur Leber
19.4. Guckstein - eine Schule für
Kinder und Eltern
26.4. Zwischenbau (Leber)
3.5. Zwischenbau (Leber)
10.5. Nütz dem Schüler
17.5. Kumpel um einen Schüler
24.5. Lernen in Berlin
7.6. Zurück zur Zerstreuung?
14.6. Was ist Hissan (Leber)
21.6. Es liegt der Vorteil

Autoreport
5.4-21.6

21.10-21.15 Uhr

Tier-Report
6.4-22.6.82

19.00-19.45 Uhr

6.4. Arie 2000
13.4. Farnass
27.4. Die Stille
11.5. Leben um den Eis
25.5. Schokolade
8.6. Die Grinasse
22.6. Kitten, Mähen,
Wasser spielen

Beruf: Sportlehrer
4.5-29.6.82
aus: Jugendzeitung

19.30-20.00 Uhr

4.5. Was Sport zum Ernst wird
18.5. Ausdrucksproben
1.6. Berufsleiter
15.6. Fast eine Empfehlung nach
Frankreich
29.6. Studenten in Frankreich
Die Flotte

Vergessene Kulturen
an der türkischen
Riviera
13.4.-22.6.82

19.45-20.00 Uhr

13.4. Von Imer nach Kussak
27.4. Von Kussak nach Beldun
11.5. Von Beldun nach Kussak
25.5. Von Kussak nach Kussak
8.6. Von Kussak nach Kussak
22.6. Von Kussak nach Kussak

Märchenhafte
Reise...
14.4-3.5.82

19.00-19.30 U

14.4. ... durch das 1. der 1
21.4. durch den Wogel
26.4. durch die Schwahn
3.5. vom Hohen Meinen
Wetter

Bevor Columbus kam
12.5.-16.6.82

19.00-19.30 U

12.5. Auf der Suche nach
Eldorado
19.5. Göttergötter
26.5. Das große Reich
2.6. Montezumas Feder
9.6. Neuer Bräutigam
16.6. Das heilige Blut

Follow me
7.4-30.6.82
Ergebnis der Umfrage

19.30-19.45 U

7.4. Who's is it? (Hörspiel)
14.4. I'm a (Hörspiel)
21.4. How many and how?
28.4. What have you done?
5.5. Zwickel
12.5. Haben Sie mit der
19.5. What do you say?
26.5. Phoebe 1001
2.6. How can I get it?
9.6. Where can I get it?
16.6. There's a concert on
Wednesday
23.6. What's it like?

News of the Week
7.4-30.6.82

19.45-20.00 U

3.11. What do you think of
Beethoven?
Band 1 - Lesson 1
Band 2 - Lesson 16
Band 3 - Lesson 31
Band 4 - Lesson 46
Ergebnis der Umfrage
Lernprogramm
München, in Berlin
Frankfurt

APPENDIX 5

Raw Data for Figures Throughout the Text Using Percentages or Bar Graphs

1. BRD annual output in Figs 5.2 and 5.3 - compiled from: ZDF Yearbook, 1980, "Das Programm in Zahl und Grafik", pp129-139; and ARD Yearbook, 1980, "Programmstatistik", pp265-303; in thousands of minutes.

TELEVISION

		ARD	
	ZDF	First Programme	Second Programme
Education and Culture	33	23	58
Films and Plays	55	33	10
Sport	17	23	2
Politics, News, Current Affairs	56	43	33
Theatre and Music	14	3	24
General Entertainment and Children's Programmes	14	56	14
Advertising	8	6	-

RADIO

	HR1	HR2	HR3	NDR1	NDR2	NDR3	Deutschlandfunk
Classical Music	8	180	-	25	5	210	125
Popular Music	240	50	160	260	255	15	190
Spoken Word	180	110	40	200	260	90	225
Immigrant Programmes	-	-	70	-	-	70	120
Advertising	40	-	130	-	-	-	-

2. DDR output in Figs 5.4 and 5.6 - compiled from 'FF Dabei' for 26th June-2nd July 1978: in minutes.

TELEVISION

	First Programme	Second Programme
Education and Culture	1260	425
Films and Plays	1240	852
Sport	451	102
Politics, News and Current Affairs	985	375

Theatre and Music	598	288
General Entertainment and Children's Programmes	926	58

RADIO

	DDR1	DDR2	Stimme der DDR	Berliner Rundfunk	Regional (Weimar, Gera/Suhl)
Classical Music	54	3669	3896	2025	280
Popular Music	7223	442	3339	5467	576
Spoken Word	1008	2609	1975	1588	480

The above appeared, from discussion with local education and broadcasting staff to be a typical weekly pattern. Observation over the years from across the Border indicates little serious variation in it. For purposes of comparison with BRD output therefore, the above figures were multiplied by 52 for the graphs in Chapter Five.

3. Patterns of educative programming in Fig 6.1 - from "Hor Zu" and "FF Dabei" for 26th June-2nd July 1978: in minutes.

	GENERAL	NEWS	DOCU- MENTARY	INFORMAL AD ED	AD ED/ SCHOOLS
<u>Television</u>					
DDR1	2350	620	930	90	400
DDR2	665	175	75	110	55
Combined	3015	795	1005	200	455
NDR1	2195	495	815	35	-
NDR3	430	90	545	160	1040
Combined	2625	585	1360	195	1040
ZDF	1630	440	415	165	110
Common Morning Prog- ramme (ARD/ZDF)	135	50	45	15	10
<u>Radio</u>					
DDR1	3440	615	565	95	-
DDR2	3035	315	455	315	410
Stimme der DDR	2955	565	390	435	-
Berliner Rundfunk	2690	65	345	155	-
NDR1	2400	250	345	65	95
NDR2	6590	1025	255	685	-
NDR3	5800	205	615	135	70
Deutschlandfunk	7860	1010	1210	200	-

4. Content of BRD adult education series in 1981 - extrapolated from analysis of 'Hor Zu' for January and August, for Figs 7.1, 7.2, 7.2 and 7.3.

SUBJECT AREA	TV (Minutes)	RADIO (Minutes)
Qualifying and post-experience courses (excluding teachers)	9610	935
Teachers' in-service	2260	470
Language study (including German for immigrants)	6780	1480
Maths/Science/Technology	5085	465
PE/Sport/Health	3955	935
Parent Education	3950	1170
Environmental Studies	3455	-
Series for Minority Groups (Women, the disabled, the deaf etc)	5150	935
Hobbies	2600	-
History/Archaeology	1980	-
Religion/Philosophy	1920	-
Media Studies	1525	-
Driving/Travel	1520	-
Visual Arts	1355	-
Consumer Affairs	960	235
Personal Relationships	955	230
Psychology	905	235
Music	565	-
Development Education	340	-
Politics/Economics	-	80
Technology and the Workplace	-	-
Literature	280	80
Others	2260	550
TOTAL	56520	7800

5. For the purposes of Figs 7.2 and 7.3 an analysis of a typical two week period of DDR adult education broadcasting was made from 'FF Dabei'. More extensive analysis over a longer period (as in the case of the figures for Fig 7.2) was impossible owing to the difficulty of obtaining regular access to 'FF Dabei' in the West. From observations from the BRD over the years of the study however it seems clear that little variation occurs in the pattern of DDR programming and that the following figures are therefore a useful basis for comparison, if less than fully satisfactory. The totals

for this two week period were scaled up x18 to obtain a rough equivalent for the nine 'active' months of DDR educational TV.

From "FF Dabeï" for 14th June-28th June 1981: in minutes.

SUBJECT AREA	DDR	
	TV	RADIO
Qualifying and post-experience (not INSET)	60	-
INSET	12	30
Language Study	130	14
Maths/Science/Technology	30	23
PE/Sport/Health	95	-
Parent Education	8	-
Environmental Studies	4	-
Series for Minority and other special groups (the deaf, women etc)	5	-
Hobbies	4	5
History/Archaeology	2	73
Religion/Philosophy	2	5
Media Studies	-	-
Driving/Travel	-	5
Visual Arts	-	-
Consumer Affairs	-	5
Personal Relationships	-	-
Psychology	11	2
Music	2	-
Development Education	-	5
Politics/Economics	15	75
Literature	-	68
Technology in the Workplace	-	33
Others	5	5

- NB 1. Monthly programmes were scaled down by 75% to obtain a weekly equivalent.
2. Schools language programmes with an evening repeat for the adult learner are included in these figures.

APPENDIX 6

Sample Print Support Materials for Broadcasts Gathered in the Course of the Study

1. DDR MATERIALS

Programme für die Weiterbildung der Lehrer from the Zentralinstitut für Weiterbildung (In-service Education of Teacher Programme) for 1977: Broadcast Notes (approx 5,000 word leaflet for each topic) for programmes on:

Marxism-Leninism
 Pedagogic Psychology
 English
 Civics
 Art Education
 German Language and Literature
 Heimat Kunde (A mixture of Modern Studies and Environmental Studies - literally 'Homeland Knowledge')
 Vocational Studies
 Gardening
 Drawing
 Music
 Russian
 Physics
 Mathematics
 Astronomy
 Chemistry
 Biology
 Geography
 Technical Studies
 History

Hören and Anschauen im Literaturunterricht (Listening and Looking in Literature Teaching) W Butow and H Dahm - Volk und Wissen, Berlin, 1977 - A book on the use of broadcasting and other audio-visual aids in the teaching of literature.

Du and Dein Studium - Smitmans, H et al, Verlag Tribun, Berlin, 1974 - A study skills book for adults, based on a broadcast series.

Teachers Notes for Schools Broadcasts - From ZIFF, Potsdam, 1976

Class 4	Environmental Studies (Heimat Kunde)
Class 6	Geography
Class 7	Geography
Class 8	Literature
Class 9	Chemistry
	Physics
	History
Class 10	Civics
	History
	Biology

Urania im Funk (Urania in Broadcasting) printed lectures from radio -

Urania, Berlin, 1977:

The Origins of Human Intelligence
 The Special Responsibility of the Natural Scientist
 Discovering the Earth from Space
 Palaeo-botany
 The Physics of the Cosmos

2. BRD MATERIALS

Funkkolleg Texts - Fischer, Frankfurt am Main, 1974 Pedagogic Psychology

1. Development and Socialisation
2. Learning and Teaching

Introduction to the Social Sciences

Funkkolleg Course Units - DIFF, Tübingen, 1973

Biology Units 1 and 6

Familie Bauman - Deutsche Welle, Berlin, 1978

Deutsche Welle German Course for English Beginners - Books 3 to 6

Funkkolleg Broadcast Notes - Saarland Broadcasting, 1973

Introducing Biology

DIFF Zeitungs-Kolleg (Newspaper College) - Tübingen, 1979

Europe - Main text of readings

Students' Notes

Notes for Group Study

Grundkurs Deutsch (Basic courses in German language) - Akad, Cologne,
1976

Course Units 1 to 6 for HR TV course

Telekolleg Deutsch - TR Verlagsunion, Munich, 1976

Course Units 1 to 3

Telekolleg English - TR Verlagsunion, Munich, 1972

Course Units 1 to 3

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